DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 459 487 CS 510 704

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (84th, Washington, DC, August 5-8, 2001). History Division.
INSTITUTION	Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.
PUB DATE	2001-08-00
NOTE	472p.; For other sections of the 2001 proceedings, see CS 510 705-724.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC19 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Advertising; *Censorship; Court Litigation; Higher Education; *Journalism Education; *Journalism History; Mass Media Role; Newspapers; Presidential Campaigns (United States); Programming (Broadcast); Propaganda; Television; World War II
IDENTIFIERS	*Citizen Kane; Eighteenth Amendment; Japanese Relocation Camps; Kansas; New York Sun; Public Journalism; Television News; Womens Suffrage

ABSTRACT

The History section of the proceedings contains the following 15 selected papers: "Attacking the Messenger: The Cartoon Campaign against 'Harper's Weekly' in the Election of 1884" (Harlen Makemson); "Fact or Friction: The Research Battle behind Advertising's Creative Revolution, 1958-1972" (Patricia M. Kinneer); "Bee So Near Thereto: A History of Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States" (Thomas A. Schwartz); "'All for Each and Each for All': The Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati, 1888-1988" (Paulette D. Kilmer); "Everyone's Child: The Kathy Fiscus Story as a Defining Event in Local Television News" (Terry Anzur); "Rising and Shining: Benjamin Day and His New York 'Sun' Prior to 1836" (Susan Thompson); "Reconnecting with the Body Politic: Toward Disconnecting Muckrakers and Public Journalists" (Frank E. Fee, Jr.); "Harry S. Ashmore: On the Way to Everywhere" (Nathania K. Sawyer); "Suppression of Speech and the Press in the War for Four Freedoms: Censorship in Japanese American Assembly Camps during World War II" (Takeya Mizuno); "The 'Farmer's Wife': Creating a Sense of Community among Kansas Women" (Amy J. DeVault); "Citizen Hearst vs. 'Citizen Kane': The Battle Fought behind the Release of One of the Greatest Cinematic Pictures of All Time" (Christopher Allan Faidley); "From 'True Temperance' to the 'Tatler': Advertising Messages of Anheuser-Busch in the Early Years of Prohibition" (Margot Opdycke Lamme); "'Still the Manager...in Letter and Spirit': Absentee Ownership and the 'East Oregonian'" (Jon Arakaki); "A 'Legion of Decency' for 1950s TV? The Catholic Morality Code That Didn't Happen" (Bob Pondillo); and "'London Calling?' Covert British Propaganda and News Distribution, 1948-1953" (John Jenks). (RS)

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CS 510 704

Attacking the messenger: The cartoon campaign against *Harper's Weekly* in the Election of 1884

By
Harlen Makemson
PhD Student
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

4615-L Hope Valley Rd.
Durham, NC 27707
E-mail: hmake@email.unc.edu
Phone: (919) 403-1678
Fax: (919) 962-0620

Paper submitted to
Assocation for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
History Division Research Panel, 2001 Annual Convention
Washington, D.C.

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Abstract

Scholars have asserted that pro-Republican political cartooning was ineffective during the presidential campaign of 1884, but they have not offered convincing evidence. An examination of two pro-Republican comic weeklies – *The Judge* and *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly* – suggests that the problem may have been one of focus. The purpose of this paper is to show how Republican comic weeklies spent almost as much ink discrediting *Harper's Weekly* – long a supporter of Republican causes but which had reused to support James Blaine in this campaign – as it did attacking Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland. During the heart of the campaign, George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's*, appeared in almost as many primary illustrations in *The Judge* as did Cleveland. Republicans, for the most part, reacted to *Harper's Weekly* attacks on Blaine by attacking the messenger, rather than refuting the specific charges. Republican publications and their cartoonists failed to remember who the real enemy was.

In the late 1800s, the image became a finely sharpened weapon in the manipulation of public opinion. The power of the editorial cartoon became manifest during Reconstruction, in large part due to the caustic genius of Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, and flourished in the Gilded Age, as excesses of the period gave great ammunition to a new form of journalism in the United States – the weekly comic magazine. Modeled after the British publication *Punch* and best exemplified in this country by *Puck*, comic weeklies skewered political villains and social customs of the day in both word and image, most notably with lithographs in vivid color, a major technological advance. These comic weeklies were extremely popular and were "perhaps the best humor magazines ever put out in America."[1]

If the final decades of the 19th century constituted the golden age of political cartooning, the campaign of 1884 may well have been its zenith, or perhaps its nadir, depending on one's taste and political inclination.[2] Relentless and vicious, cartoonists against Republican candidate James G. Blaine seized on his alleged misdeeds in public office and portrayed him as, among other things, a tattooed man in a dime museum. The anti-Blaine cartoons angered, amused and, according to most accounts, swayed voters.[3]

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[1] Samuel A. Tower, Cartoons and Lampoons: The Art of Political Satire (New York: Julian Messner, 1982), 133.

[2] The effect of cartoons on the 1884 campaign is discussed in Samuel J. Thomas, "The Tattooed Man Caricatures and the Presidential Campaign of 1884," *Journal of American Culture* 10, no. 4 (1987): 1-20; Richard Samuel West, "Laboring to Save Fools, The Presidential Contest of 1884 As Seen in the Pages of *Puck* and *Judge*," *Target* (Winter 1983): 14-20; William Murrell and Whitney Museum of American Art, *A History of American Graphic Humor* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1938), 74-83.

[3] Cleveland won the electoral count 219-182 and edged Blaine in the popular vote by only 29,214 out of 9.7 million cast. Late in the campaign, Walt McDougall's "The Royal Feast of Belshazzar Blaine and the Money Kings" in the *New York World* signaled the beginning of the daily editorial cartoon and, it is argued, made the difference in the extremely close New York vote. The cartoon, running the day after a dinner in Blaine's honor hosted by rich industrialists, showed the guests dining on "Lobby Pudding" and "Monopoly Soup" as a poor family begged for crumbs. Paul Somers, *Editorial Cartooning and Caricature: A Reference Guide*, American Popular Culture Series, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998), 11.

Conversely, pro-Republican cartoonists of the period were seen, then and now, as incompetents. The British publication *Pall Mall Gazette*, reviewing the comic battle in the midst of the campaign, said Republican "arguments are feebly illustrated by an insignificant comic paper called the *Judge*. On the other side are arranged all the reputable journals ..."[4] Many Republicans after the election said their cartoonists were ineffective in influencing the results.[5]

What previous research has not addressed is *why* Republican cartooning was ineffective during the presidential campaign of 1884. The underlying assumption has been that Republican cartoonists were simply not as talented or as skilled as their Democratic-leaning counterparts. However, a closer examination of two pro-Republican comic weeklies – *The Judge* and *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly* – suggests that the problem may have been one of focus rather than artistic or rhetorical merit. The purpose of this paper is to show how Republican comic weeklies spent almost as much ink discrediting *Harper's Weekly* – long a supporter of Republican causes but which had refused to support Blaine in this campaign – as it did attacking Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland. In their rage at a perceived abandonment by a fellow publication, Republican publications and their cartoonists failed to remember who the real enemy was.

The 1884 canvass: a nasty campaign

It is difficult to imagine two candidates for president being more different than were the nominees in 1884. Blaine was one of the most successful politicians of his time, having served as Speaker of the House, U.S. Senator, and Secretary of State in the ill-fated Garfield administration.[6] Known for his oratorical skills, Blaine was a formidable campaigner who rarely forgot a name or a face and could be charming and persuasive at the same time. According to one acquaintance, "Had (Blaine) been a woman, people would have rushed off to send expensive flowers."[7]

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[4] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 Aug. 1884, p. 4

[5] Mark W. Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion: The Making of a President 1884* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 206.

On the other side was Cleveland, a political unknown, especially when compared to Blaine. Cleveland rapidly ascended from lawyer, to Buffalo mayor, to governor of New York, to presidential candidate. Short and heavy, Cleveland was shy in public, uncomfortable in crowds and rarely spoke out on the issues.[8]

Despite their differences, the two had at least one thing in common during the campaign of 1884: scandal. Blaine had been accused in his legislative career of improperly benefiting from his position in government and relationships with the powerful. In the most serious of these charges, Blaine was accused of helping shepherd legislation benefiting the Little Rock and Fort Smith railroad in return for the opportunity to sell railroad bonds at a high commission. Some of the more damning evidence came in the form of letters to a railroad executive, which had been preserved by a bookkeeper named James Mulligan.[9] More of the "Mulligan Letters" surfaced during the 1884 campaign, the most famous of which had Blaine enclosing an alibi for himself, which he wanted the executive to sign and return. Blaine signed the missive, "Burn this letter."[10]

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[6] Blaine served as Secretary of State for less than a year under President James A. Garfield, who was shot on July 2, 1881 in a Washington railroad station while standing with Blaine. Garfield died on September 19, 1881; Blaine resigned as secretary of state three months later. He would again serve as Secretary of State in the Benjamin Harrison administration.

[7] Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 5.

[8] A glimpse at the candidates' campaign style says volumes: Blaine made more than 400 speeches, while Cleveland gave two. Eileen Shields-West, *The World Almanac of Presidential Campaigns* (New York: World Almanac, 1992), 111.

[9] The House Judiciary Committee investigated Blaine's relationship with the railroad in 1876. Blaine defended himself on the floor of the House with a dramatic reading from some of the letters; Mulligan claimed Blaine took the letters from him. Blaine refused to give the letters to the Judiciary Committee. The committee took no action against Blaine, partially because of his impassioned defense, but also because of external factors: Blaine suffered a heat stroke on June 11, 1876, and was selected to fill a vacant seat in the U.S. Senate on July 10. David Saville Muzzey, *James G. Blaine, A Political Idol of Other Days*, American Political Leaders Series (New York: Dodd Mead & Company, 1934), 83-100, 115.

The accusations against Blaine were a bonanza for comic publications that were sympathetic to the Democrats. The most celebrated of these publications, *Puck*, has been given credit by some historians for bringing about Blaine's defeat in the November election.[11] *Puck* is best known for the 22 cartoons depicting Blaine as the "Tattooed Man,"with the candidate wearing the names of his alleged scandals committed in Congress. Most of the "Tattooed Man" cartoons were drawn by Bernhard Gillam,[12] including the most scandalous, "Phryne Before the Chicago Tribunal," published the week of the Republican nominating convention. Based on a Jean-Leon Gerome oil painting of 25 years earlier, "Phryne" featured the *New York Tribune's* Whitelaw Reid, Blaine's staunchest supporter in the press, tearing a robe off the tattooed candidate in front of a group of Republicans gathered to judge Blaine's fitness for candidacy. Reid tells the alternately stunned, angered or bemused members, "Now gentlemen, don't make any mistake in your decision! Here's Purity and Magnetism for you – can't be beat!" – the "magnetism" coming in the form of a magnetic bib placed over Blaine's bare chest.[13] Circulation of *Puck* skyrocketed, and the image of the "Tattooed Man," in the assessment of Blaine's biographer, "became the picture of Blaine in the minds of masses of people who were incapable of examining his record."[14] Blaine considered suing *Puck* for libel but did not, reportedly to avoid bringing any more attention to the integrity issue.[15]

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[10] Blaine said the letters "were entirely consistent with the most scrupulous integrity and honor" and wanted Republican journals across the country to reprint them in their entirety. Many did, but inserted editorial comments so they would seem less damaging. Muzzey, 302.

[11] For more on the history of *Puck*, see Everette E. Dennis and Christopher Allen, "*Puck*, the Comic Weekly," *Journalism History* 6, no. 1 (1979): 2-7, 13; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines* , vol. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 520-532; Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 254-259. Both the history of *Puck* and the life of its founder is covered in Richard Samuel West, *Satire on Stone: The Political Cartoons of Joseph Keppler* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

[12] The life and career of Bernhard Gillam is briefly described in Eugene Zimmerman and Walter M. Brasch, *Zim: The Autobiography of Eugene Zimmerman* (Selinsgrove, Pa. and London: Susquehanna University Press; Associated University Presses, 1988), 70-72. Making the "Tattooed Man" series more remarkable is that Gillam actually supported Blaine's candidacy and was suggesting anti-Cleveland cartoon ideas to *The Judge* during the campaign. Thomas, 16. The following year, Gillam left *Puck* and took over as art director for *The Judge*.

Seeing its candidate savaged by cartoon, Republicans scrambled to get illustrators of their own to turn the tables, and their journals soon got explosive fodder with which to attack the opposition. Part of Cleveland's attraction to Democratic leaders was his clean record, but that was thrown into question shortly after the party's nominating convention. On July 21, 1884, in an article titled "A Terrible Tale," the *Buffalo Evening Telegraph* claimed that Cleveland had an affair with a Buffalo woman, was the father of her illegitimate child in 1874 and had tried to hide the child in an orphanage. Cleveland did have relations with the woman, later identified as Maria Halpin, and took responsibility for the child, although it was unclear whether he was the father. His advice for his followers: "Tell the truth."[16] *The Judge* had perhaps the most infamous cartoon of the campaign with Frank Beard's "Another Voice for Cleveland," which showed a woman holding a baby who was yelling, "I want my pa!" as an angry Cleveland stomps his feet.[17]

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[13] Crude reproductions of "Phryne" were distributed at convention hotels in Chicago; those handing them out were beaten up and their papers seized. However, *Puck* founder and chief cartoonist Joseph Keppler attended the convention, apparently not recognized by the delegates. Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 136.

[14] Muzzey, 277.

[15] Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 205. The *New York Times*, commenting on Blaine's suit, said "It would be a matter of astonishment if a man who lived as long as he has in the fierce light of publicity could be injured by a cartoon." *New York Times*, 25 April 1884, 4.

[16] Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage*, American Political Leaders Series (New York: Dodd Mead & Company, 1932), 162-69.

[17] "Another Voice for Cleveland" appeared in the September 27, 1884 issue of *The Judge*. An editorial in the same issue said " ... all the land, from Maine to California, has become acquainted with that baby's position and its wants, and shares in its anxiety to know, 'Where's my papa?' "

The 1884 presidential election has been considered one of the most unsavory in U.S. history. Whether the race between Blaine and Cleveland was "the dirtiest campaign," as some historians have asserted, is open to debate. However, there is little doubt that "there has never been a campaign in which the public morality of one candidate and the sexual morality of his opponent received such unrelenting attention."[18] What research has largely overlooked, however, is that a sizable number of Republican cartoon attacks were directed not toward the opposing candidate, but rather at a publication which was seen as betraying the GOP cause.

Betrayal: An old ally changes colors

Harper's Weekly had long been in the Republican camp, and the imagery of Nast had helped bring down the Democratic political machine of Boss Tweed in New York City. However, the political landscape was changing. Independents and other reform-minded Republicans wanted an end to the spoils system, where civil service workers were chosen on the basis of political connections, and they demanded that officeholders be chosen on the basis of their qualifications. The previous year, Congress had passed the Pendleton Act, which classified certain civil service jobs and set up an mechanism for choosing federal employees by merit. Although Blaine came out in favor of expanding the Pendleton Act in certain areas, reformers were not buying his recent conversion – Blaine in the past had mocked reformers and once had used his position in the State Department to give positions to his friends and those of the Garfield administration.[19] His unlikely conversion, coupled with the other alleged improprieties, made Blaine unacceptable to much of the reform movement.

Among the reformers was George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly* since 1869 and chairman of the New York delegation at the 1884 Republican convention, where he tried to lead a charge to nominate Senator George F. Edmunds of Vermont, a supporter of civil-service reform.[20] Blaine won the nomination with little difficulty, resulting in reform-minded Republican journals such as E.L. Godkin's *The Nation*, James Gordon Bennett's *The New York Herald* and George Jones' *New York Times* pulling their support from the GOP candidate.[21]

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[18] Richard E. Welch, Jr., *The Presidencies of Grover Cleveland* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 32.

[19] Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 163, 204.

Harper's Weekly would soon follow in the "Mugwump Revolt."[22] In the issue of June 14, the journal wrote in an editorial that it could not support Blaine.[23] Nast drew a cartoon showing a magnet dubbed "Magnetic Blaine" breaking the back of the Republican elephant. Defections of other Republican papers were met with mild derision compared to what *Harper's Weekly* would be subjected to: "Curtis was denounced as a traitor who had broken faith; Nast was branded as a hired assassin."[24]

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[20] Curtis also tipped his hand when he vigorously opposed a proposal that all delegates be bound to support the nominee, saying, "A Republican and a Free man I came to this Convention; by the grace of God a Republican and a free man I will go out of this Convention." Gordon Milne, *George William Curtis and the Genteel Tradition* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1956), 180.

[21] John M. Dobson, "George William Curtis and the Election of 1884: The Dilemma of the New York Mugwumps," *The New York Historical Society Quarterly* 121, no. 3 (1968), 224. Shortly after the Republican convention, *The Nation* wrote, "The list of the Independent and Republican journals which are openly committed against (Blaine) stands now: *New York Times, New York Herald, Harper's Weekly, Puck, Evening Telegram, Brooklyn Union, Rochester Post-Express, Rochester Herald, Syracuse Herald, Flushing Times, Boston Advertiser, Boston Transcript, Boston Herald, Springfield Republican, Philadelphia Record, Philadelphia Times, Chicago Times, Chicago News, New Haven News,* and the *New York Evening Post." The Nation*, 12 June 1884, 496.

[22] The independent Republican reformers or "Mugwumps" were seen by many as pious elites and also had a reputation for waffling on the issues. One joke was that they were called Mugwumps because, on the political fence, their "mug" was on one side and their "wump" was on the other. Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 186.

[23] Although he knew he could not support Blaine for the presidency, Curtis still struggled with his decision. However, the Harper brothers insisted on a strong editorial denouncing Blaine's nomination. Albert Bigelow Paine, *Th. Nast, His Period and His Pictures* (New York and London, The Macmillan Company; Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1904), 490-493.

Republican comic weeklies were at the forefront of attacks on the Mugwumps and *Harper's Weekly*. The best-known of these journals, *The Judge*, was particularly vehement and persistent in its attacks, arguably taking space from cartoons that could have been critical of Cleveland. Although *The Judge* had small cartoons throughout each issue's 16 pages, the primary cartoons were color lithographs on the cover, back page and a two-page centerspread. From June 21 to Nov. 8, Cleveland appeared in 28 of those primary illustrations. George William Curtis appeared in 26. Among all illustrations in *The Judge* during that period, Cleveland appeared in 55; meanwhile, 53 illustrations had some combination of Curtis, Nast or fellow Mugwumps Carl Schurz[25] and evangelist Henry Ward Beecher.

There were issues in the 1884 campaign – the protective tariff primary among them – but for many, the lasting impression of the election of 1884 has been character assassination at its worst.[26] The nasty discourse led one observer of the period to observe, "You may search the records of political controversy of the

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[24] Paine, 496. In response to Republican assertions that *Harper's Weekly* had been a traitor, the publication said in an editorial, "There is a short and conclusive reply to this question. *Harper's Weekly* has never been a party organ. It holds to fundamental Republican principles, and supports the organization which best represents them; but it has always and emphatically declared its independence of party." *Harper's Weekly*, 28 June 1884, 406. Curtis's actions bear this out: He had advised "scratching" the GOP ticket in the 1879 New York governor's race and in 1880 and 1883 gave speeches that advocated leaving the party if unworthy candidates were presented. Milne, 181.

[25] Schurz, a former Senator and Secretary of the Interior, was a reformer who was popular with fellow German voters and was vigorously attacking Blaine's record at Democratic campaign rallies. Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*, 205. Schurz would later write editorials for *Harper's Weekly*.

[26] For background on the 1884 campaign, see Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion*; Stephen E. Ambrose, "Blaine vs. Cleveland," *American History Illustrated* 1, no. 6 (1966): 32-40; Herb Eaton, *Presidential Timber: A History of Nominating Conventions, 1868-1960* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964); Eugene Holloway Roseboom and Alfred E. Eckes, *A History of Presidential Elections, from George Washington to Jimmy Carter*, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1979); Marvin and Dorothy Rosenberg, "The Dirtiest Election," *American Heritage* 13, no. 5 (1962): 4-9; Arthur Meier Schlesinger and Fred L. Israel, *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789-1968* (New York: Chelsea House, 1971).

Anglo-Saxon race from the Heptarchy to this bitter day, and you shall look in vain for a parallel to that lowest deep in which this campaign is wallowing."[27] And in this campaign, the mudslinging was not reserved for candidates only.

The Judge goes on the attack

A series of disagreements led cartoonist James Albert Wales to leave *Puck* in 1881 to found *The Judge*. Not surprisingly, it strongly resembled *Puck* stylistically; in fact, it was too much like its predecessor. In its early years, *The Judge* unsuccessfully veered among different causes in an attempt to carve out a niche to differentiate it from its successful counterpart, and the magazine lagged in circulation.[28] A change in ownership brought an infusion of money, but did not end its struggles.[29]

In early 1884, *The Judge* gave lukewarm support to President Chester Arthur. But by May, as it became apparent that Arthur did not have enough support to win the Republican nomination, *The Judge* started to back Blaine and defend him from attacks on his public integrity.

The Judge also began attacking those who bolted from the Republican camp. When Curtis formed a committee of independent Republicans to work against Blaine's election and announced that *Harper's* would eagerly await to see who the Democrats nominated, *The Judge* responded with a double-page illustration, "The Bugaboo,"[30] (Fig. 1) which showed wayward editors stuffing a political strawman with pages from their publications. "Curtis, in conjunction with Carl Schurz and George Jones of the (New York) *Times*, are at work upon this boogy-man already,

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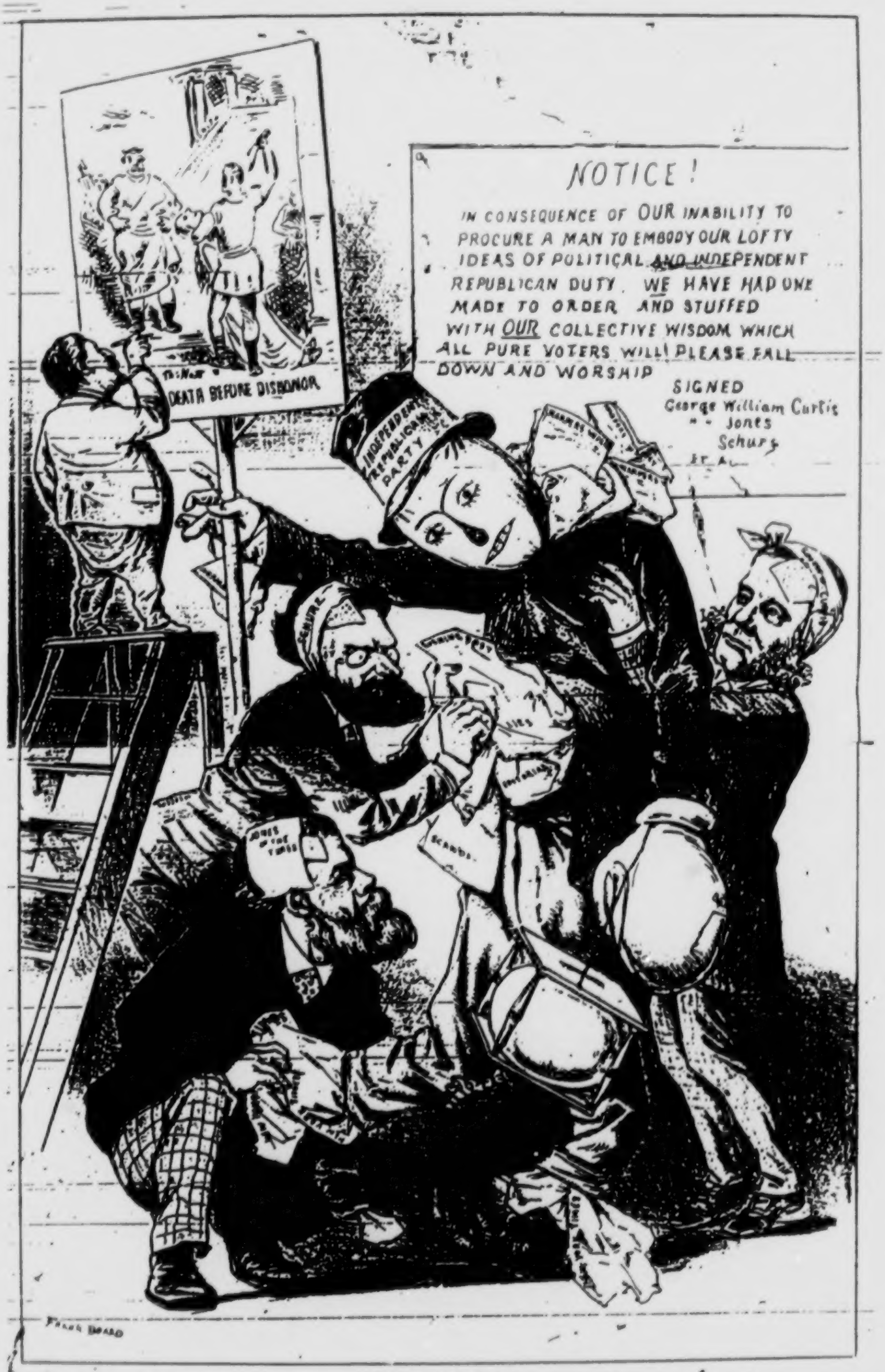
[27] Muzzey, 311.

[28] Mott, 552-553. Among the early stances of *The Judge* were violent anti-semitism, early support for Blaine followed by ruthless attacks against him, and on-again, off-again support for Greenback advocate Benjamin Butler. West, "Laboring to Save Fools," 15.

[29] The magazine was purchased by Philadelphians Albert H. Smyth and Harry Hart. Mott, 553.

[30] *The Judge*, 5 July 1884, 8-9.


DEATH BEFORE DISHONOR
NOTICE!
IN CONSEQUENCE OF OUR INABILITY TO PROCURE A MAN TO EMBODY OUR LOFTY IDEAS OF POLITICAL AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN DUTY. WE HAVE HAD ONE MADE TO ORDER AND STUFFED WITH OUR COLLECTIVE WISDOM WHICH ALL PURE VOTERS WILL PLEASE FALL DOWN AND WORSHIP
SIGNED
George William Curtis
" " Jones
Schurz
ET AL
INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN PARTY
SCHURZ
JONES OF THE TIMES
FRANK BEARD

THE BUGABOO.
Don't be frightened, Mr. Blaine; it's not alive.

Fig. 1. *The Judge*, 5 July 1884, 8-9

stuffing his limp limbs with their editorials, and animating his vague personality with still vaguer promises of something wonderful to come."[31] The stuffed-paper "boogy-man" representing the independent Republicans would be a recurring character in *The Judge* throughout the campaign.

Cartoons also portrayed the Mugwumps as dwindling in number or being of little value. "The Size of the Independent Army," (Fig. 2) asserted that "There is just about nine of them, not ninety thousand."[32] A later cartoon portrayed Schurz being picked up by a Democratic refuse man (Fig. 3).[33] "The scavengers in this case are the Democratic party, who are picking up considerable discarded Republican trash and weaving it into the Cleveland ranks. Well, they are welcome to it all. Deserters are not usually counted very valuable soldiers ..."[34]

The attacks on *Harper's Weekly* became more coarse after the publication officially endorsed Cleveland. "The Mistake of a Lifetime"[35] (Fig. 4) marked the return of the "boogy-man," this time a rag doll being held by Curtis, who dressed in women's clothing, attire he would wear in numerous cartoons in *The Judge* before the election was over. "But when he carries his wretched little rag baby over into the Democratic household, he is doing a very foolish thing, and he knows it. ... He has simply sacrificed his political record of the past and all his hopes of political usefulness in the future."[36] A sign over Cleveland's poster reading "National Theatre: Led Astray," adds to the insinuation that the Mugwumps were deceiving themselves in thinking Cleveland was a believer in reform, but the cartoon is also a thinly veiled attempt to remind readers of Cleveland's alleged illegitimate child. The same issue contained the grim "An Independent Movement"[37] (Fig. 5), which portrayed Beecher, Schurz, Jones and Curtis hanging themselves, a less subtle prediction of the political fate *The Judge* thought awaited them.

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[31] *The Judge*, 5 July 1884, 2.

[32] *The Judge*, 12 July 1884, 1.

[33] *The Judge*, 6 Sept. 1884, 1.

[34] *The Judge*, 6 Sept. 1884, 2.

[35] *The Judge*, 16 Aug. 1884, 1.

[36] *The Judge*, 16 Aug. 1884, 2.

The Judge also pointed out what it thought was hypocrisy in *Harper's Weekly*. In 1872, Nast mocked Liberal Republican/Democratic presidential candidate Horace Greeley's vow to have North and South "clasp hands over the bloody chasm." Nast used the "bloody chasm" in numerous cartoons to charge that Greeley had abandoned his one-time abolitionist views and pandered to racist elements of the Democratic party in order to gain power; 12 years later, *Harper's Weekly* was having similar charges leveled against it. *The Judge* first invoked the memory of the Greeley series with a double-page illustration on July 12 titled "Anything to Beat Blaine,"[38] portraying a monkey-like Nast reaching across to the ghost of Boss Tweed, and Curtis reaching out to current Tammany boss John Kelly.

Several weeks later, *The Judge* returned to the "bloody chasm" theme in "A Nast Cartoon (Slightly Changed)"[39] (Fig. 6), which was a virtual copy of an 1872 Nast illustration. *The Judge's* illustration is identical to its predecessor, except that Nast replaces Greeley, and Curtis replaces Gratz Brown, Greeley's running mate. Nast and Curtis hold up a black man and ask him to reach over a slain black person and grieving child to shake hands with the murderer, a member of the Ku Klux Klan with blood still dripping from his hands. The cartoon was an unmitigated indictment of *Harper's Weekly*, suggesting that its support of the Democratic candidate was in effect a show of support for the policies of the failed confederacy

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[37] *The Judge*, 16 Aug. 1884, 16.

[38] *The Judge*, 12 July 1884, 8-9.

[39] *The Judge*, 30 Aug. 1884, 5.

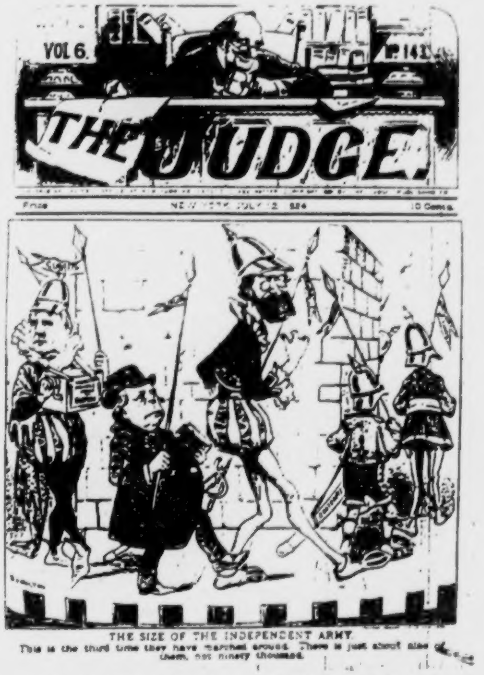
VOL 6.
No 142.
THE JUDGE.
Price
NEW YORK, JULY 12, 1884
10 Cents
THE SIZE OF THE INDEPENDENT ARMY.
This is the third time they have marched around. There is just about nine of them, not ninety thousand.

Fig. 2. The Judge, 12 July 1884, 1

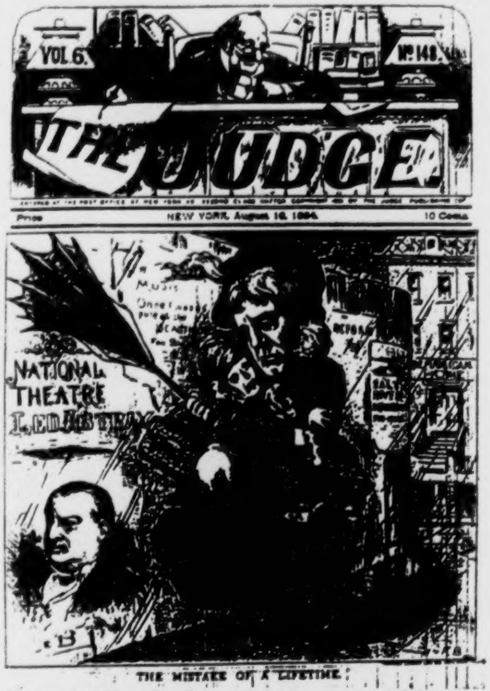
VOL 6.
No 148.
THE JUDGE.
Price
NEW YORK, August 16, 1884.
10 Cents
NATIONAL THEATRE
THE MISTAKE OF A LIFETIME.

Fig. 4. The Judge, 16 August 1884, 1

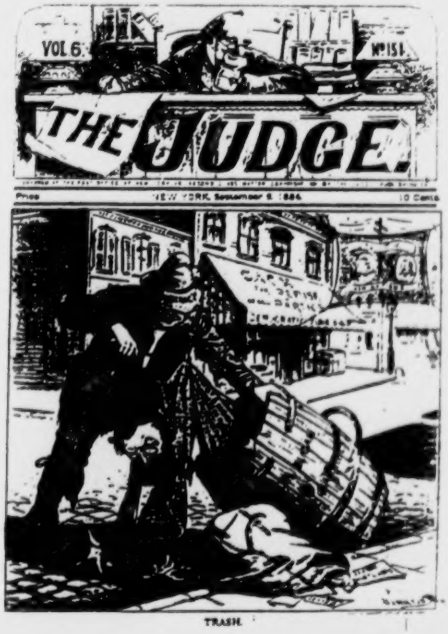
VOL 6.
No 151.
THE JUDGE.
Price
NEW YORK, September 6, 1884.
10 Cents
TRASH.

Fig. 3. The Judge, 6 September 1884, 1

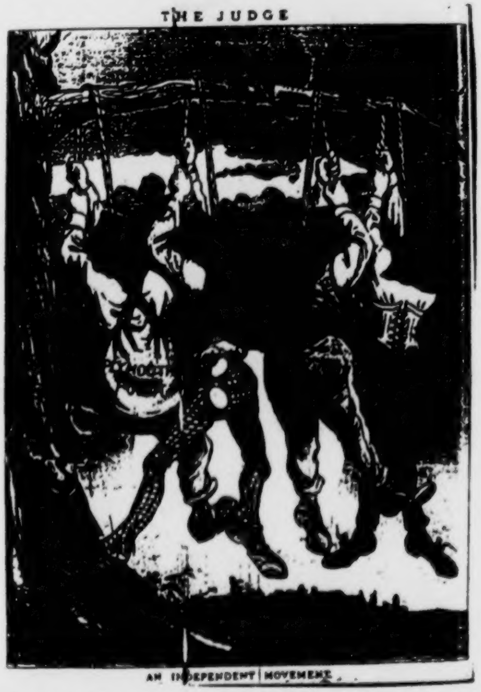
THE JUDGE
AN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT.

Fig. 5. The Judge, 16 August 1884, 16

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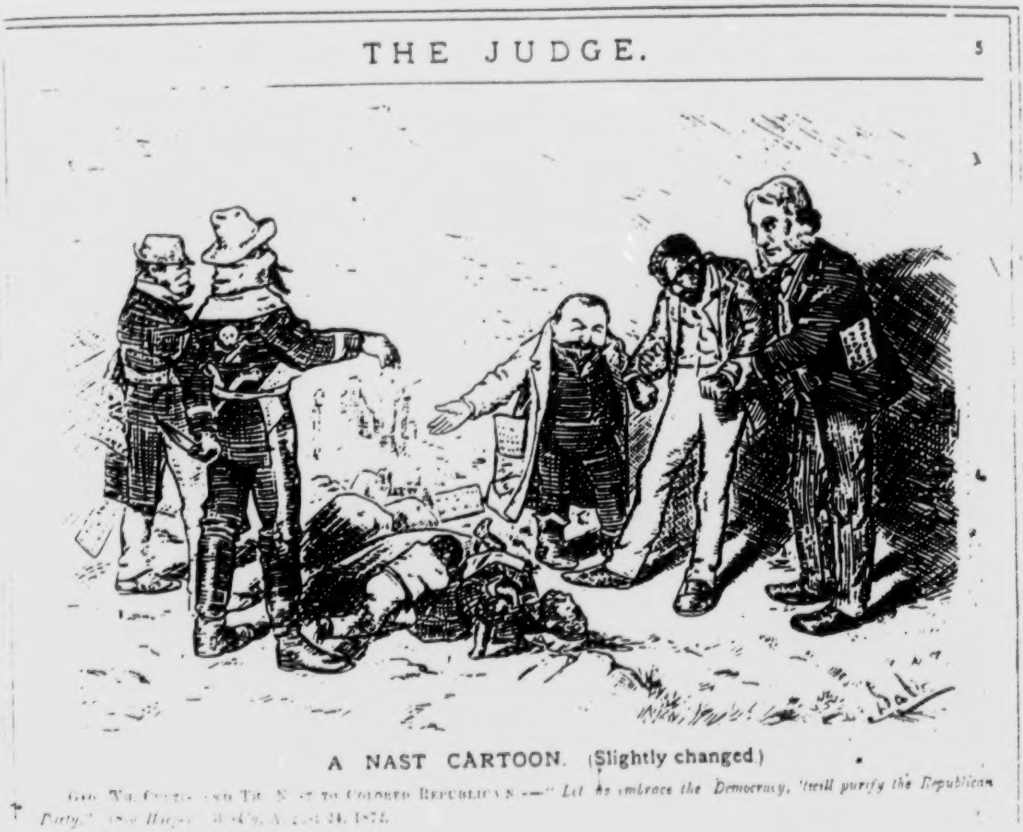

THE JUDGE. 5

A NAST CARTOON. (Slightly changed.)

[illegible] to Colored Republicans.—"*Let us embrace the Democracy, 'twill purify the Republican Party.*" [illegible]

Fig. 6. *The Judge*, 30 August 1884, 5

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and a repudiation of the publication's long-time anti-slavery stand. However, "waving the bloody shirt" was exactly what Republican strategists were trying to avoid. The GOP wanted to break the Democrats' "Solid South" in two or three states where support was weakest; their best chance of doing that was to focus on economic issues such as the tariff and downplay race.[40] In reminding readers of a perceived hypocrisy by *Harper's*, the cartoon instead re-opened wounds of war and Reconstruction.[41]

A newcomer joins the fray

An upstart publication was also using illustrations to promote the cause of Blaine. In 1884, Frank Andrew Munsey was a long way from his eventual success as one of the most rich and powerful newspaper and magazine publishers of his time.[42] He was a 30-year-old newcomer struggling to keep his magazine for 10-to-20-year-olds, *The Golden Argosy*, solvent. Taking on another publication would seem to make poor business sense. However, Munsey not only saw his campaign paper,

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[40] Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 241.

[41] Southern exchange newspapers were quick to clip articles out of Northern publications that criticized the South and suggested to readers that issues such as the tariff were only a ploy to deceive Southerners into voting against their interests. The effort to break the "Solid South" was doomed to failure: By October, most GOP candidates in the region were written off, and Blaine was telling audiences in the Midwest that Cleveland's election would weaken "the bond of union." Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 249-254.

[42] Munsey is perhaps best remembered for dropping the price of a later publication, *Munsey's Magazine*, to 10 cents in 1893, ushering in the era of the mass-circulation magazine. He also owned 18 newspapers in his career and is credited for killing half of them through cutting and consolidating. Margaret A. Blanchard and Carol J. Burwash, eds. *History of the Mass Media in the United States: An Encyclopedia* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), s.v. "Frank A. Munsey," by Jonathan Y. Hill.

Munsey's Illustrated Weekly, as a way to help Blaine, whom he deeply admired,[43] but as a way to promote his magazine for young people.[44]

The debut of *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly* was greeted warmly by Republican newspaper editors, weary of seeing Blaine savaged by cartoonists, some of whom were formerly on their side. The Tribune's Reid, in a thinly veiled swipe at *Harper's Weekly*, gave glowing praise to the new publication: "There is every indication in the new paper that it has come to stay, a fact for which thousands of Republicans, indignant at what they regard as the treachery of an old friend, will be peculiarly grateful."[45]

Although it emphasized Blaine's defense of American workers through the tariff and Cleveland's relative lack of experience, *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly* also sharpened its barbs for the former Republicans who became Mugwumps. *Munsey's* was quick to remind its readers of Curtis' flip-flop, including his statement at the Republican convention that the Democrats were "a party without a single definite principle; a party without any distinct national policy which it dares to present to the country."[46]

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[43] Munsey and Blaine first crossed paths during a political crisis in Maine during the fall of 1879. In the 1879 Maine elections, the Democrat/Greenback coalition attempted to falsify the results and deny 37 Republicans their elected seats. The coalition put armed men in the state house to bar GOP legislators from their seats; armed men were also stationed around the Blaine home, just across the street. The Maine Supreme Court eventually ruled for the Republicans. Muzzey, 155-156. Blaine called on Munsey, then a young telegraph operator, when messages needed to be handled with the utmost secrecy during the crisis. George Britt, *Forty Years – Forty Millions: The Career of Frank A. Munsey* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935), 52-53. Soon after, Munsey decided to go to New York and become a publisher. Among those Munsey approached about investing in his magazine was Blaine, offering half of all the profits in return for being bankrolled for six months. "I'd have given him half of all I made," Munsey said years later. "I'd have given him millions. But he wouldn't do it." Eventually he did get enough investors to start the children's magazine *The Golden Argosy* in December of 1882. Britt, 55.

[44] Readers of *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly* were often reminded to "Get the Golden Argosy for your children. They will always find something in it to amuse and interest them." *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 11 October 1884, 82. Munsey also devoted advertising space to the children's publication: An ad titled "A Safe Paper for Families" ran on the back page each week, calling *The Golden Argosy* "instructive and entertaining and highly moral in tone." *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 18 October 1884, 112.

[45] *New York Daily Tribune*, 3 September 1884, 4.

Images of the Independents portrayed them as having little power or influence. A parody of Shakespeare's King Henry IV, Part 1, "The Modern Falstaff," portrayed a bloated Cleveland as Falstaff, huddling with his military compatriots – including Tammany boss John Kelly (Prince Henry) and vice-presidential candidate Thomas Hendricks (Westmoreland) – after being joined by a ragged-looking band of Independents, including Curtis, Schurz and a gnome-like, pointy-eared, airborne Nast (Fig. 7). Quoting from the play, Kelly remarks on their poor condition and Cleveland replies, "Tut, tut; good enough to toss! food for powder, food for powder, they'll fill a pit as well as better!"[47]

Munsey's also asserted that the defection of *Harper's Weekly* had little to do with politics at all. The cover illustration "A $500,000 Disaffection" (Fig. 8) was based on a March 13, 1883 letter J.W. Harper had written to W.W. Phelps, a close friend and associate of Blaine, asking Phelps to help secure the publishing contract for Blaine's history, *Twenty Years of Congress*. In the letter, Harper said that proprietors of the company would "go down to the sidewalk to welcome the historian of his own time, and with uncovered heads reverently help him to unload the manuscript from his triumphal car on the elevated railroad."[48] The illustration, portraying Blaine's elevated train riding past an angry Curtis, Nast and Harper, implied that *Harper's Weekly* refused to support Blaine because his book was published elsewhere.[49]

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[46] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 11 October 1884, 82. Some scholars argue that Curtis still had doubts about Cleveland and the Democrats after he bolted to their camp, and that the Mugwump revolt was more about a dislike of Blaine than a well-articulated program of reform. See Dobson, note 21 above.

[47] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 4 October 1884, 65.

[48] Muzzey, 328.

Schurz was also a subject of caricature without the *Harper's* gang. In "Undertaking a Big Contract," Schurz uses a tub and washboard, attempting to scrub stains out of the "Democratic Record," but "the more he washes, the thicker the stains appear."[50] A cartoon appearing after Blaine's victory in Maine[51] showed Schurz standing behind an easel on which a plumed Columbia was writing "The best reply to campaign lies, Maine for Blaine." The caption reminded readers of Schurz's German heritage: "Dot vas a grand victory for Cleveland!"[52] *Munsey's* also spread allegations that Schurz was making money by attacking Blaine. In "The Oracle of the Demo-Independent Party," a top hat sitting on the ground in front of Schurz has slips of paper reading "campaign speeches $200 each."[53]

Munsey's was slow to directly address Cleveland's Buffalo Scandal and gave it less attention than did *The Judge*.[54] However, when Munsey's did refer to Cleveland's alleged moral indiscretions, it suggested that the Mugwumps endorsed his behavior. A front-page illustration dealt directly with Cleveland's personal morals, and also attacked the Mugwumps in the process (Fig. 9). The cartoon, based on Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, has Cleveland placed in a public pillory. Among those surrounding Cleveland are Schurz, Curtis and Nast, who has drawn a Cleveland head with halo.[55] *Munsey's* had earlier expressed frustration over a perceived double standard for the two candidates – "Now why is past alleged unchastity to be dismissed in silence, while a like dishonesty is not?"[56] Munsey's and other GOP publications were not about to let alleged moral impropriety go quietly, especially when those who bolted the party made integrity such an issue.[57] The visual charge was clear: Mugwumps such as Curtis were pious only when it served their political purposes.

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[49] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 18 October 1884, 97. According to Summers, Blaine orchestrated the effort in Republican papers to show that the defection of *Harper's Weekly* was motivated by anger over not getting the publishing rights to his book. Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 200. *The Judge* also printed a small illustration that alluded to the alleged anger of *Harper's* over not getting the book contract. *The Judge*, 2 Aug. 1884, 5.

[50] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 6 September 1884, 16.

[51] Several states had election days prior to November: Alabama and Kentucky voted in August; Maine, Vermont and Arkansas voted in September and West Virginia and Ohio voted in October. Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 257.

[52] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 27 September 1884, 64.

[53] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 25 October 1884, 128. A cartoon in *The Judge* alleged Schurz's speaking fee was "$150.00 per night net cash." *The Judge*, 1 Nov. 1884, 6. Other Republican papers reported that Schurz's asking price for Democratic speeches was $250; Schurz said he was not paid and covered his own expenses, Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 177.

[54] Maria Halpin's name never appeared in *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*. The only reference to the scandal in the first two issues concerned a reprinted article from the *Independent*, a Republican journal that reversed its decision to endorse Cleveland on moral grounds. *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 13 September 1884, 19.

Discussion

The Judge and *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly* spent a great deal of capital attacking the independent Republicans who bolted the party, and saved their most violent and visceral attacks for *Harper's Weekly*. Cartoonists for these publications tried to discredit Curtis and Nast in several ways. At times, Curtis and Nast were portrayed as hypocritical and corrupt, at other times they were seen as insignificant,

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[55] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 25 October 1884, 113

[56] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 20 September 1884, 34.

[57] *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 25 October 1884, 113. The greater scrutiny into Cleveland's life brought *Munsey's* to one of the campaign's most infamous scandalmongers in the closing days. The Rev. George H. Ball, a Buffalo pastor, had first been quoted in a *Boston Journal* article about the Buffalo Scandal in July and practically had been talking ever since. On November 1, *Munsey's* published further Cleveland allegations from Ball, who according to the publication had "the actual facts" about the Democratic candidate's activity at an area bar. "Some have taken the testimony of men who personally know of the facts; have often seen Cleveland there; have drunk with him in the saloon, seen him too drunk to walk without help, and seen him give money to his favorite girl under circumstances clearly indicating that it was for no legitimate object. These witnesses include the station agent, a well-to-do and enterprising farmer, and others." *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 1 November 1884, 131. By the time Ball's allegations appeared in *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, several people had taken him up on his offer to come to Buffalo and see proof of his charges. At best the evidence was too vague to assess its validity; the leading Republican newspaper of the city didn't take him or his evidence seriously. Summers, *Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion* , 182. *The Buffalo Courier* forced Ball to write a letter in which he admitted the falsity of some of his claims. Nevins, 163.

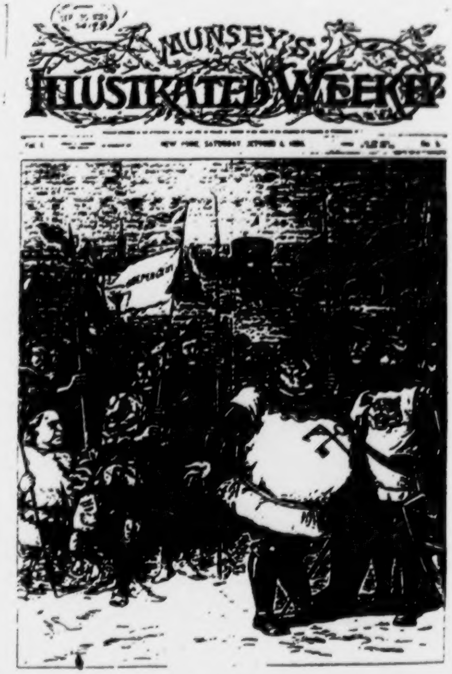
MUNSEY'S
ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY

Fig. 7. *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 11 October 1884, 82

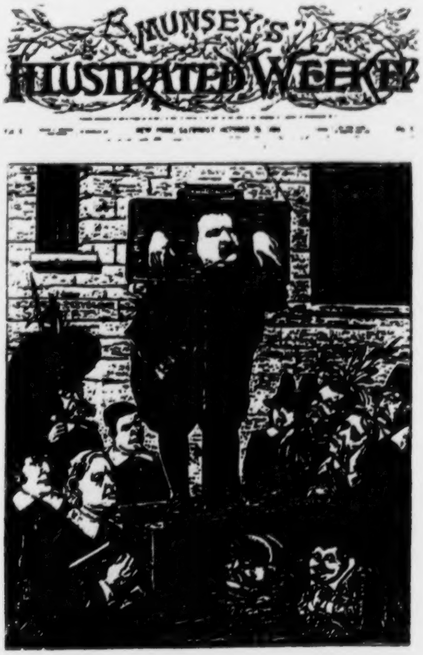
MUNSEY'S
ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY

Fig. 9. *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 25 October 1884, 113

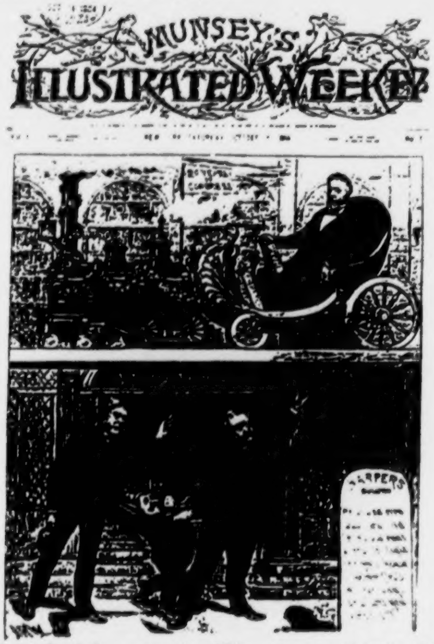
MUNSEY'S
ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY
HARPER'S

Fig. 8. *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*, 4 October 1884, 65

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dwindling in number, and with no actual policies with which to start a reform movement.

These pro-Republican cartoonists also spent a great deal of space attacking the masculinity of the independents, particularly Curtis, who was referred to as "Nancy" in many of the cartoons. Portraying Curtis in women's clothing and having feminine characteristics had several functions for those trying to discredit the Mugwumps, as historian Mark Summers points out. The obvious connotation was that the "manly" thing to do would be to fall in line, be a good political soldier, and support the nominated candidate. Such rhetoric also articulated a form of class warfare. Mugwumps were seen in many circles as representing Northern educated elite. Linking the Mugwumps to a subculture among leisured rich who were obsessed with perfect apparel and were outwardly frail made the argument that the Mugwumps had very little in common with the American working man.[58] Likewise, emphasizing these "English" habits of these "traitors" reminded voters of a principal Republican campaign theme: continued high tariffs to keep the U.S. market from being flooded with cheap foreign goods. A vote for the Democrats was a vote for British business interests, while a vote for the Republicans was a vote for the protection of the American working class.[59]

The reasons for the rancor that Republican cartoonists showed toward Nast and Curtis ran deeper than simple betrayal. Curtis was not just an influential editor, but a political leader and statesman who was much in demand as a speaker. Curtis not only had to be discredited as editor of a turncoat publication, but as leader of a potentially damaging new political movement. Similarly, Schurz and Beecher were known for their oratory skills and had enthusiastic crowds appearing for their speeches denouncing Blaine.[60]

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[58] Other publications called the Mugwumps "the political flirts," "Mother Hubbards," "wet nurses," and "the sewing society in Staten Island." Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 200-203.

[59] As early as 1883, Blaine was corresponding with Republican editors such as Whitelaw Reid of the *New York Tribune* and Charles Emory Smith of the *Philadelphia Press* about the need to promote the policy of protectionism and high tariffs. Half of the 15 pages of Blaine's nomination acceptance letter were devoted to a defense of the protective tariff. Muzzey, 266-267, 290. Helpful background on the tariff issue can be found in Mark W. Summers, *The Gilded Age, or, The Hazard of New Functions* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1997), 207-209.

Previous researchers, however, have argued that the Mugwumps' influence in the election of 1884 was greatly overstated.[61] Their main contribution was to keep Blaine's alleged improprieties in the public eye through their publications; followers were few in number beyond the Northeast and a few major Midwest cities.[62] The large number of cartoons that include Curtis indicates that pro-Republican publications were extremely worried about the possible damage his attacks were having on Blaine, a miscalculation in light of the Mugwumps' influence on others switching from the Republicans.

Such foresight by loyal Republicans was difficult, if not impossible, given the frequency and salience of attacks on Blaine in *Harper's Weekly*. The recurrence of Nast in these cartoons also demonstrates that Republican supporters were as concerned with Nast's images as they were with Curtis's words. The power of the image is more striking when you consider Nast's place within the political hierarchy. Unlike Curtis, Nast was not an active leader in political party circles; his influence came from his ability to skewer those in power via the cartoon, not by organizing a political movement. Although Nast was in the twilight of his career and many observers felt his best days were behind him, he still had celebrity status and considerable sway over the middle-class constituency which made up *Harper's Weekly* readers. Even if Nast's talent had waned, memories of his campaign against Boss Tweed were still fresh. As Tweed himself said, the written attacks on him were nothing compared to the impact of "those damn pictures."[63] The power of the image had been recognized, and Nast was still king.

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[60] Schurz was particularly popular, especially among German voters, and gave detailed criticisms of Blaine's record during numerous speeches. Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 205.

[61] A modern statistical analysis of the vote in Massachussets, a Mugwump stronghold, gave no evidence of a widespread Republican revolt against Blaine, and suggested that the decline in the GOP vote from 1880 to 1884 might be due to Benjamin Butler's candidacy on the People's Party ticket. Lee Benson, "Research Problems in American Political Historiography," in Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences, ed. Mirra Komarovsky (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), 123, 131; quoted in Dale Baum, " 'Noisy but not Numerous': The Revolt of the Massachusetts Mugwumps," *The Historian* 41, no. 2 (1979), 241-242.

[62] Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion*, 206-207.

Republicans, for the most part, reacted to *Harper's Weekly* attacks on Blaine by attacking the messenger, rather than refuting the specific charges.Whether that was a reflection on Blaine's actual impropriety or on the rancor Republican loyalists felt toward a "traitor" is difficult to determine. However, by both quantitative and qualitative measures, the attention given to *Harper's Weekly* by loyal Republican cartoonists was excessive. More emphasis by GOP loyalists on the shortcomings of Cleveland, particularly a lack of experience, may have been a more effective way of offsetting the influence of the cartoons of *Harper's* and *Puck.*

Pro-Republican cartoonists were unable to help Blaine to the White House in 1884, but it wouldn't be long before the GOP reached parity in the weekly comic wars. The 1884 campaign would be the last for Nast, and it was the only campaign for *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly*[64] and other pro-Republican organs such as *Jingo.* [65] However, *The Judge* soon came into its own. Gillam, author of the Tattooed Man series, would leave *Puck* the following year to become art director at *The Judge* and turn his comic wrath toward Cleveland, the man he may have helped elect. It would soon be clear that effective political cartooning knew no political boundaries.

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[63] In 1875, Tweed escaped from jail and fled to Spain; he was arrested by customs officials there who recognized him from Nast's cartoons. Somers, 7.

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[64] Munsey's insistence that his new illustrated publication would continue after the 1884 campaign turned out to be wishful thinking. The final issue of *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly* was published on November 8, 1884, and printed with the election result still in doubt. Although the publication was short-lived, it is clear is that *Munsey's Illustrated Weekly* put wind in its editor's financial sails. Munsey likely received contributions during the campaign, but the weekly was put out primarily on credit. Munsey owed $8,000 when his venture into political journals ended, an amount that was far from a liability, as he saw it a decade later: "That debt made me ... when I owed $8,000 my creditors didn't dare drop me. They saw their only chance of getting anything was to keep me going." Britt, 72.

[65] *Jingo,* published by the Art Newspaper Company of Boston, had its first issue on September 10, 1884. The first issue borrowed from *Puck* in a cartoon showing a tattooed white elephant labeled "Cleveland and Hendricks" being scrubbed by reformers Henry Ward Beecher and Carl Schurz. Zimmerman, 69. The Judge accused the upstart publication of pilfering a cartoon showing a hand holding a set of playing cards. "Now although Boston may be the home of culture, it is apparently not the home of originality ... ." *The Judge,* 15 Nov. 1884, 2.

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Fact or Friction:

The Research Battle Behind Advertising's Creative Revolution, 1958-1972

AEJMC 2001
History Division

Patricia M. Kinneer, Doctoral Student
Journalism and Mass Communication
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

3621 Abercromby Drive • (919) 484-9352 • kinneer@email.unc.edu

ABSTRACT

Fact or Friction:
The Research Battle behind Advertising's Creative Revolution, 1958-1972

This study explores the role of advertising research during the Creative Revolution of the sixties – a time when "creatives" ruled the shop and research departments "were washed to sea." The ebb and flow between the two has remained a constant theme, with the popularity of one agency arm signaling the decline of the other. Insight is offered to advertising researchers and agency management who may face similar issues during today's "second Creative Revolution."

For advertising account executives, the hallway leading from the offices of the agency's researchers to those of the "creatives" – copywriters and artists – is often a long one. Perhaps that is because through the years, few other tasks have loomed as large for the AE as that of having to deliver the latest research results to the creatives. The never-ending struggle between those who create the advertising and those who insist that it be "effective" is often fought over the results of research.[1] This study examines the precarious relationship between creatives and ad researchers during advertising's Creative Revolution of the sixties. It was a time when copywriters and art directors had unprecedented freedom, when the idea was at least as important as the strategy and when advertising was exalted as an art, not a science. It was also a time, according to one market researcher, when research departments "got washed out to sea."[2] The Creative Revolution generation was outspoken on testing topics, believing that great ideas came from the inspiration of an individual stimulated by flesh and blood contact with the product, real people, and immersion in popular culture – not from the analysis of statistics and abstract logic chopping of a committee.[3] A look at the role research played during such "image" times is called for today – a time of advertising's "second Creative Revolution," spurred on by the Internet.[4]

This paper looks at the way in which advertising research was portrayed within the trade and to the outside world during the fifteen-year period from 1958 to 1972. This timeframe captures the years most scholars have assigned to the Creative Revolution – the sixties. It also includes the years just up to and following the decade to account for the timeframe assigned to the revolution by other writers.[5] Much has been written on the views of advertising leaders toward research during this time, particularly those of David Ogilvy and Bill Bernbach.[6] These views as expressed through the leaders' personal and public correspondence are examined. Trade press articles provide insight as to how advertising research was framed to advertisers across America. The two publications reviewed are *Advertising Age* and *Printers' Ink* – the trade journals with the highest circulations throughout the period.[7] In order to understand how advertising research was presented to those interested in the field, classified advertisements from the two major hotbeds of advertising – New York and Chicago – and from the trade press as well as guides for those interested in advertising careers are explored.[8] Before turning to the battle between creatives and researchers, attention is first turned to the forces shaping the Creative Revolution.

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[1] David Stewart, "Speculations on the Future of Advertising Research," *Journal of Advertising*, 21 (September 1992), 14.

[2] Bob Lamons, "How Do You Stand Out from the Pack?" *Marketing News*, 5 June 1995, 4.

[3] Van Wallach, "Pre-testing – A Necessary Evil or a Creative Tool?" *Advertising Age*, 13 February 1986, 18; Charles E. Overholser, "Rationalism, Intuition and Empiricism: The Role of Research in Creative Development." In *Copy Research in the Age of Technology;* Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Advertising Research Foundation Copy Research Workshop, The New York Hilton, May 3-4, 1998, by The Advertising Research Foundation (New York: Advertising Research Foundation, 1988), 24.

[4] For a discussion of advertising's second Creative Revolution, see Randall Rothenberg, "Sadly, Ad World Cedes its Magic when it Plays it Safe for Client," *Advertising Age*, 9 August 1999, and Michael Kreinist, "An Old Revolution," *Advertising Age*, 17 January 1994, 22.

The Rise of the Creatives

At the close of the 1950s virtually all that was needed to sell goods was an ability to build better products and the money to promote them. Advertisers focused attention on product features and customer benefits, giving consumers "reasons why" they should purchase. Research, which had gained momentum following the Depression when advertisers demanded proof that their tightened budgets were spent wisely, was used to identify the "reasons why." Advertising driven by a Unique Selling Proposition (USP) singled out and pounded away at the differences between the client's product and those of competitors. In practice, USP often translated into heavy-handed, hard-sell advertising.[9] As the 1950s drew to a close, however, a myriad of factors brought about a change from the hard-sell approach to an era of soft-sell advertising some creatives still wistfully look upon as advertising's "Golden Age."[10]

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[5] While most authors place the Creative Revolution in the late 1950s and 1960s (See, for example, Steven Heller, "Gene Federico, 81, Graphic Designer Dies," C18), one notes that the revolution reached its peak in 1969 (Scott Donaton, "A Sale that Had to Happen," *Advertising Age*, 8 February 1999, 40) and another indicates that the Creative Revolution began in the mid 1960s and continued for two decades (Erwin Ephron, "Who Gets What in ANA's Drive to Enlist Shops?" *Advertising Age*, 25 January 1999, 34).

[6] Ogilvy's works include *Confessions of an Advertising Man* (New York: Atheneum, 1963); *An Autobiography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997); *Blood, Brains and Beer* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978) and *Ogilvy on Advertising* (New York: Crown, 1983). Bob Levenson compiled a collection of Bernbach's works and his advertising philosophy six years after Bernbach's death titled *Bill Bernbach's Book* (New York: Villard Books, 1987).

[7] Circulation figures for *Advertising Age* throughout the time period were 50,000+, according to *Business Publication Circulation and Rate Trends (1946-1962)* (New York: Association of National Advertisers, 1963), 1-4. Circulation figures for *Printers' Ink* were approaching or surpassing 40,000 according to a statement run in the classified ad section of the magazine 20 January 1961. *Printers' Ink* became *Marketing/Communications* in 1968.

[8] For each of the ten years under consideration, four Sunday editions of *The Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times* were randomly selected, and classified ads falling under "Professional" were examined. Circulation figures for *The New York Times* Sunday edition ranged from 1.37 to 1.50 million throughout the decade, and circulation for the Sunday Chicago newspaper was from 1.19 to 1.13 million throughout the decade. *The Chicago Tribune* became *The Chicago Daily Tribune* during January 1, 1960 through May 31, 1965. *Newspaper Circulation and Rate Trends (1946-1962)*, (New York:

For one, technological advances had led to the development of virtually indistinguishable products. Despite extensive research, agencies uncovered selling propositions that were not all that unique. Soon so many imitation USP's were put forth that consumers couldn't take any more.[11] A 1967 *Printers' Ink* article described the solution to "me-too-ism" that arose. "Naturally," the author pointed out, "if two or more competing products have essentially the same story to tell, then the prize will surely go to that one whose telling of the identical story is most likely to attract attention, hold interest, and create at least a favorable psychological *image* with prospective buyers" (emphasis author's).[12] Increased media alternatives forced agencies to create a greater impact per ad exposure, not only through greater media selectivity, but also through the ability to use sheer creative weight.[13] The upgrading of truth and taste in advertising brought about by the FTC's clamp-down on deceptive advertising during the early 1960s is also credited for the substitution of creativity for deception and for the enhanced stature of the creative man.[14]

Perhaps more than any other factor leading to the rise of a new type of advertising was the intolerance youth of the day had for the hard-sell, beat-them-over-the-head type of advertising their parents had been fed for so long. In 1960, the head of BBD&O pled with members of the 4A's for original selling. "People are sick of sameness," he said, adding that consumers were more ready than they had been in 100

Association of the National Advertisers, Inc., 1963), 91, 76; *Newspaper Circulation and Rate Trends (1961-1968)*, (New York: Association of the National Advertisers, Inc., 1963), 95, 79.

[9] James W. Young, *How to Become an Advertising Man*. (Illinois: API Advertising Publications, Inc., 1963), 19; Jon Lafayette, "Backer Backs Off USP Credo," *Advertising Age*, 4 March 1991, 6.

[10] Cynthia Rigg and Alan Breznick, "Crumbling Empire; A Midlife Crisis Jolts the New York Ad Industry," *Crain's New York Business*, 8 May 1989, 31.

[11] Courtland L. Bovée and William F. Arens, *Contemporary Advertising*, 2d ed. (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1986), 21.

[12] "The Role of Advertising," *Printers' Ink*, 23 June 1967, 33.

[13] "How the '60s will Alter Agencies," *Printers' Ink*, 15 April, 1960, 24.

[14] "Creativity and FTC: Will Truth Crackdown Stifle Idea Men?" *Printers' Ink*, 12 February 1960, 23-4.

years for "big ideas that dare them and challenge them."[15] The following year, Bill Bernbach wrote that it would take tremendous artistry with words and pictures to touch and move the reader – an individual so exposed "to banalities, to self-conscious artificial attempts to arrest his attention, that he looks but does not see; he listens but does not hear; and what is worse, he does not feel."[16] During a time when social customs and values were turned upside down by political protest, social unrest and sexual liberation, the most acclaimed advertising would be that which found the most natural way of talking to the consumer.[17] The words of one agency president as the new decade opened captured the host of factors giving rise to the new generation of advertising – a time he called "a genuine creative renaissance in advertising." The change, he said, was due "the tempo and temper of the times, to invention born of desperation, to the revolt against the sinister sameness… the trite and tired in advertising, to the increasing clamor for the public eye and ear and the decreasing span of attention."[18] It was not until 1969, however, that the name "revolution" was assigned to the resulting era of advertising. In an article titled "The New Creativity Shakes up the Business Old Guard," *Advertising Age* captured the state of sixties advertising: "Some call it creative freedom. Others, creative permissiveness. Still others, creative anarchy. Whichever, it is the closest thing to a *revolution* the ad business has experienced. It's turned the establishment agencies upside down. It's brought about the dissolution of the old copy department system" (emphasis author's).[19]

The Image Creators

The advertising *image* had thus become more important than any specific product feature for selling a product.[20] Three agencies most commonly associated with the new image advertising were those of Leo Burnett, David Ogilvy and William Bernbach.[21] Widely acclaimed images from the Burnett shop – a leader of the Chicago school of advertising – included the Jolly Green Giant, the Marlboro Man and Tony the Tiger. In New York, Ogilvy, who had struggled throughout his career with the desire to balance hard facts and soft sell, created the Man in the Black Eyepatch for Hathaway Shirts and Colonel Whitehead for Schweppes.[22] Yet the ads most given credit for having ushered in the new generation of advertising were from Bernbach's New York agency, Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB). The ads featured a cat in a hat for Orbach's department store and a rental car company that tried harder due to its Number 2 position. The "Think Small" Volkswagen ad, debuting in 1959, was the DDB ad credited with transforming the advertising business.[23]

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[15] "Ad World Ready for Renaissance, Brower Tells 4A's," *Advertising Age*, 25 April 1960, 70.

[16] William Bernbach, "Selling Proposition isn't Enough: Creativity must Bring the Dead Truth to Life, says Bernbach," *Advertising Age*, 29 May 1961, 62.

[17] "Agencies Paying High for Creative Skill: Goldschmidt," *Advertising Age*, 24 October 1966, 1; Greg Farrell, "Wacky Internet Ads Ride Creative Wave. Start-ups in Huge New Industry Fight for Your Attention," *USA Today*, 9 June 1999, 1B.

[18] "AA Workshop Offers 'Best,' 'Worst' Ad Clues" *Advertising Age*, 8 August 1960, 12.

[19] Allan Marin, ed., *50 Years of Advertising: 1930-1980 as Seen through the Eyes of Advertising Age*. (Chicago: Crain's Communications Inc., 1980), 86.

[20] Jack Trout and Al Ries, "The Positioning Era Cometh," *Advertising Age*, 14 April 1972, 38.

The Images

The days of essay-oriented advertising had passed. To make a mark on customers at a glance advertising specialists looked to visual identity as the unifying factor to hold all their claims together.[24] Bernbach's shop became famous for its innovative integration of type and image, using text as part of the picture to create visual puns.[25] Often the big picture did not even feature the product, with some of Bernbach's ads containing no sales argument at all. Yet without urging a single product claim, Bernbach made his clients' products the best known brands in town.[26] The DDB advertising was intelligent, artful, engaging, human and self-effacing.[27] What made it so drastically different from that which it replaced, according to William Myers, author of *The Image Makers*, was that Bernbach, convinced that the public would buy more if the sales pitch was less intense, refused to dupe consumers or to steamroll them with facts.[28] In 1969 Fairfax Cone praised Bernbach for creating advertising that talked the way people talked and for effectively making jokes where the sanctities of selling had never before been defied.[29] The more intelligent, lighthearted ads essentially became a form of entertainment.[30] Advertising was viewed as an American art form and Bernbach proclaimed "the Picasso of Madison Avenue."[31] Bernbachian advertising spawned its share of imitators. For example, one agency specifically requested an advertising copywriter with "the DDB touch," and a major interstate real estate developer called for "such a man as might have written the Volkswagen campaign."[32]

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[21] Image advertising was not an entirely new concept of the Creative Revolution. In the early 1900s, Theodore MacManus advocated that a "soft-sell" rather than a "hard-sell" copy style would create a long-term relationship between a manufacturer and customers. The only way to penetrate the subconscious of the reader, MacManus advanced, was through a slow accumulation of positive images. William Wells, John Burnett, and Sandra Moriarty, *Advertising Principles and Practice*, 2d. ed. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1991), 24.

[22] Ogilvy, who had worked for Gallup in the '30s, was conflicted as to how to reconcile the MacManus school of image advertising with research-oriented reason-why copy. Ogilvy spent his career studying the advertising process and analyzing research findings about what worked and what didn't, resulting in an infamous set of rules.

[23] Randall Rothenberg, "The Advertising Century," *Advertising Age*, 29 March 1999, C16.

[24] "Art isn't Just to Illustrate Copy," *Advertising Age*, 12 May 1958, 2.

[25] Heller, "Gene Federico," C18.

[26] Sean Callahan and Edmund O. Lawler, "Century's Legacy: B-To-B Marketing Comes of Age," *Business Marketing*, 1 September 1999, 33; Martin Mayer, *Madison Avenue, USA*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958) p. 65.

Fostering the Creative Environment

The radical new approach to advertising could only be achieved, Bernbach advanced, through the institution of a two-person creative team consisting of an art director and copywriter. Previously, the two had belonged to separate departments, often in conflict for resources and attention.[33] In 1959, the senior art director at a major New York agency stated that harmonious working relationships between writers and artists seemed like an "impossible circumstance."[34] A senior writer at Young & Rubicam in 1962 offered an explanation for the battle that ensued each time the writer came to the artist with a new ad. The writer, who had filled "himself in on the nuts and bolts of the problems," through taking a field trip to the client's facility, reading research reports and visiting the sales manager, knew that competitive advertising was "hard sell." On the other hand, the artist, who was working on ads for other clients "while the writer was

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[27] Rigg and Breznick, "Crumbling Empire," 31.

[28] William Myers, *The Image-Makers: Secrets of Successful Advertising*, (London: Orbis, 1984), 35.

[29] Cone, *With All Its Faults: A Candid Account of Forty Years in Advertising*, 293.

[30] "You're Great. 'No, You're Great.'" A Star Pupil Turns the Tables on the Mentor who Most Inspired Him: Jeff Goodby and Hal Riney, One-On-One," *Advertising Age*, 29 March 1999, C84.

[31] Myers, *The Image-Makers*, 35.

[32] "Advertising Copywriter $HI," *The New York Times*, 26 January 1964, 8W, Column 5; "Don Harris Needs… Copy Chief," *Advertising Age*, 29 October 1962, 112, Column 3.

[33] Arthur J. Kover and Stephen M. Goldberg, "The Games Copywriters Play: Conflict, Quasi-Control, a New Proposal," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 35 (July/August, 1995), 59.

[34] "Avoid Visual Clichés, Over-Exaggeration, Mis-Use of Research, Art Director Baker Warns Admen," *Advertising Age*, 2 November 1959, 124.

gathering dope," did not like hard sell and often was sidetracked by visual appearance.[35] The solution to the problem of differing work objectives was to view advertising as communications before all else. "It is not copywriting alone, nor art direction alone. It is both at once," one agency art director commented in 1958.[36] The consumer does not separate an ad's elements – copy from illustration or sounds from picture – and the agency should not do so either, the head of a Cleveland agency told *Ad Age* in 1969.[37] Considering that television combined visuals as well as words and that radio employed sound effects and music as well as words, it made sense for printed words and art to join, the author of a 1962 advertising text noted.[38]

Agencies broke down the walls between copy and art departments – figuratively and literally. Communication teams of copy writers and artists worked together from the start of a campaign, sometimes switching roles with artists suggesting copy lines and writers proposing visual treatments, an arrangement which encouraged creative people "to step out of their fields."[39] Agencies began to advertise for employees who functioned best as part of a team. A New Jersey agency advertised for an art director who was a "copy/art team thinker" with a focus on "not just pictures;" a "decision-conscious" Chicago advertising agency looked for an "inventive, talented doer who loves to write great copy that goes with great design" and a New York agency announced its interest in a writer who realized that "his good copy line doesn't necessarily make a good ad," but who was "willing to rework his words with the art director."[40] For the first time, artists and writers moved from behind the scenes and were treated as equal partners with account executives.[41] The teams began to promote themselves as such to prospective employers, as seen in one 1958 ad announcing "Art and Copy Team wants Permanent Agency Position." The job-seeking art director and copywriter, self-promoted specialists in "coordinated art and copy that sells," advertised their interest in a "change of creative atmosphere."[42]

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[35] Edwin Reinke, "The Cold War Between Copywriters and Artists – How Do You End It? And Who Wins?" *Advertising Age*, 23 April 1962, 89.

[36] Allen, "Art isn't Just to Illustrate Copy, " 2.

[37] "Creative Groups, Artist-Writer Teams Part of New Scene at Meldrum & Fewsmith," *Advertising Age*, 14 April 1969, 66.

[38] John S. Wright and Daniel S. Warner, *Advertising*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), 258.

[39] "F&S&R Melds its Copy, Art Staffs in New Creative Setup," *Advertising Age*, 29 March 1965, 36.

[40] "Art Director N.J. Ad Agency Copy/Art Team Thinker," *The New York Times*, 1 November, 1970, 8W, Column 5; "Copy – Creative," *The Chicago Tribune*, 29 January 1967, 10, Section 3, Column 8; "To the Writer Who Will Be Our Creative Director," *Advertising Age*, 6 July 1964, 86, Column 4-5.

[41] "Creative Groups, Artist-Writer Teams Part of New Scene," 66; Rigg and Breznick, "Crumbling Empire," 31.

Agency operations focused on "creative freedom," and unnecessary details such as meetings were removed for creatives.[43] The co-founder of one agency recognized the creative's need for an environment free of distractions. He would "take Jack and Olie [his art directors], pack the Cadillac with typewriter, artists' boards, paper and pastels and head north for the cabin."[44] David Ogilvy lamented that too many people were involved in the advertising process, resulting in advertisements that looked "like nothing more than the minutes of a committee meeting."[45] One copywriter who had previously worked at two of biggest New York agencies, advertised that he was tired of seeing "genuinely good work mauled in committee" and sought a "demanding smaller agency or client."[46] A Chicago agency promoted itself as encouraging "the 'offbeat' copy approach – especially when it sells" and attempted to woo creative types who were "constantly faced with frustrations because of agency policy or client taboos."[47] Another agency offered a climate that would foster "honest creative freedom to explore, to experiment and to aim for the kind of advertising which sets trends."[48] To accommodate the new breed of creative men, office space was reconfigured to give adjacent offices to artists and writers.[49] Another solution was the establishment of creative islands – creative units physically separated from daily agency hassles. The most famous island experiment was that of Jack Tinker & Partners, an offshoot of the McCann agency. It included top management with a staff picked by creative department heads and focused on long-range thinking, client problems and planning.[50]

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[42] "Art and Copy Team Wants Permanent Agency Position," *Advertising Age*, 27 January 1958, 105, Column 2.

[43] Charles T. Coiner, "Artists in Marketing: No Room for Hacks," *Printers' Ink*, 26 February 1960, 56.

[44] Terry Howlett, "Jim Adams' Concepts of Creative Advertising Writing Recalled," *Advertising Age*, 8 August 1960, 89.

[45] David Ogilvy, *Blood, Brains and Beer.* (London: Hamis Hamilton, 1977), 93.

[46] "Copy – Contact," *Advertising Age*, 27 November 1967, 83, Column 4.

[47] "4A Agency in Chicago Needs Creative, Prolific Copywriter," *Advertising Age*, 16 March 1964, 118, Column 4-5.

[48] "A Copy Writer Won't Change An Advertising Agency," *Advertising Age*, 6 March 1967, 122, Column 1-3.

[49] "Creative Groups, Artist-Writer Teams are Part of New Scene at Meldrum & Fewsmith," 66.

[50] Yet even this pseudo-separation from agency hassles was not sufficient for some creatives. As the decade progressed, they moved their teams to small agencies, known as "creative boutiques." These little cells made up of two or three talented creative people offered no services other than the creation of advertising. "Nourishing the Idea Men at Mc-Cann-

Does Creativity Equal Sales?

Image advertising had its share of skeptics. In 1965, the art director for J. Walter Thompson expressed his suspicions of the "cute clever ads" in vogue, remarking that "advertising art is not just 'uninhibited vigor.'"[51] Executives remarked that advertising had come to rely too extensively on gimmickry at the expense of an idea relevant to market needs. One marketer commented in 1967 that in its desire for greater ingenuity in the presentation of the product story, advertising had shifted to being overly concerned with being clever, imaginative and creative and had lost sight of its essential purpose – to make sales.[52] Bill Bernbach had expressed a similar sentiment years earlier when, in writing for *Ad Age* in 1961, he pointed out that the primary responsibility of truly creative people was not just to exercise creative freedom, but "to know what is good creative work and what is merely pretentious acrobatics." Creativity has always meant selling, he stressed.[53]

Bernbachian imitators often failed to overlook this essential point. The concept of the advertisement as a marketing message designed to accomplish a goal-oriented communication task refuted the thinking of many who had begun to regard ads simply as pieces of show business. The era of the sixties, according to one New York agency executive, was marked by "creativity for the sake of creativity, with many agencies neglecting to check whether their spectacular productions were aimed at anyone."[54] In *The Dartnell Advertising Manager's Handbook*, Stansfield charged that it had become "painfully apparent that the wild 'mod' layouts and jumble of typefaces, psychedelic colors and way-out copy with 'high camp' puns and 'in slang" were unrelated to the advertiser's marketing objectives." The creators of such advertising, he argued, were spoiled adolescents whose only concern was to achieve *their* primary objective of having fun and impressing their contemporaries, all the while using the client's money to show off their own talents.[55]

Erickson," *Printers' Ink*, 4 November 1960, 30; "Ads from 'Creative Boutiques' Not Working, Bloede to B&B Conference, *Advertising Age*, 22 January 1965, 59.

[51] "Imagination, Judgment, Enthusiasm Make Good Art Director, Prilik Says," *Advertising Age*, 11 January 1965, 50.

[52] "The Role of Advertising," 34.

[53] Bernbach, "Selling Proposition isn't Enough," 62.

[54] "Boutique, Not Account Exec, is Doomed, Kurtz Tells AAF," *Advertising Age*, 11 May 1970, 10.

[55] Richard H. Stansfield, *The Dartnell Advertising Manager's Handbook*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The Dartnell Corporation, 1982), 682.

Whenever the choice was presented between advertising that was creative and or advertising that was effective, the effective advertising must clearly prevail, the president of McCann Erickson warned in 1960.[56] By 1968, critics of the new image advertising pointed to the "arresting visual concepts, jarring headlines and terse copy" as culprits in the new advertising's ability to attract, but inability to persuade. One adman held out hope that the pendulum would swing when advertisers realized that people had "to be sold, and not just reminded."[57] Agencies put out calls for those who knew how to create ads that were not only entertaining, but which could be linked to product sales. One searched for a creative director with "real take-charge talent… looking for creative freedom, but soundly based in profitable practicality."[58] Another specified that the copywriter it was looking for was "first and foremost a seasoned creative writer, a man of ideas with the ability to translate them into *selling* advertising."[59] One agency seeking a "writer who loves to sell ideas" specified that its future employee would be "a pro with experience creating advertising that produces *traceable* results" (emphasis author's).[60]

Copywriters were urged to objectively consider whether a campaign would sell the client's products, instead of relying on *intuition*. One agency executive in 1967 argued for the important role of research in guiding advertising technique, pointing out that some of the day's best creative people were "hooked on humor" while "just amusing the man down the hall without reaching the consumer." He suggested that it was time for research to step in and find out "just how funny housewives are willing to get about their cooking… and their children."[61]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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[56] "Harper Hits Ad World's Misuse of 'Creativity,'" *Advertising Age*, 31 October 1960,1; One agency, looking for an art director in 1967, outlined its expectation for a sales-minded thinker, announcing its "diversified position for top designer and creative thinker with strong interest in *effective* advertising" (emphasis author). "Art Director – Diversified Position," *Printers' Ink*, 20 January 1967, 56, Column 3.

[57] "Research Must Test Buyer's Attitude, Not Make Him Copy Expert, Queen Tells AMA, " *Advertising Age*, 16 October 1961, 42; William D. Tyler, "Trend to Strong Visuals, Short Copy, Makes Writers a Dying Breed," *Advertising Age*, 23 September 1968, 79.

[58] "Vice President & Creative Director," *Advertising Age*, 2 December 1968, 102, Column 4-5.

[59] "Are You This Copywriter?" *Advertising Age*, 26 January 1959, 98, 4, Column 1-2.

[60] "Wanted: Writer Who Loves to Sell Ideas," *Advertising Age*, 5 March 1962, 130, Column 3.

[61] "ARF Told to Use Research People to Develop Advertising Techniques," *Advertising Age*, 20 November 1967, 3.

The Role of Research: Linking Advertising to Sales

As opposed to the creatives, who reveled in their self confidence brought about by their newfound freedom, their ability to command high salaries and their sense of control over the agency's creative output, researchers of the Creative Revolution doubted themselves and their profession. Their role, which before the sixties had been simply to uncover real product differences that were "promotable," shifted. They were now called upon to show *effects* of image-oriented ads developed not from fact-based product differences but rather from feelings of the creatives during times of media proliferation, product sameness and social boredom. This daunting task caused concern throughout the period as to how much advertising research really could accomplish. The proponents of the debate were vociferous, leading one marketing executive to comment in 1967 that "no supposed advertising weakness elicits more sneering comments from those accustomed to dealing with figures and other tangibles than its inability to prove the result of its efforts."[62] At the heart of the researchers' self-worth issue was that clients were being asked to invest enormous sums of money in production and media to broadcast advertising chosen solely on the basis of pure creative judgment. These clients sought assurance that their advertising would be effective. "The Challenge of the 1960s" for advertising researchers issued at the Advertising Research Foundation's 1959 annual meeting, was to determine how research could provide more precise measures of advertising effectiveness.[63] The exact effects to be determined would remain the primary focus of research attention throughout the decade.

In the late fifties, the Association of National Advertisers had begun an effort to provide management with information about return on advertising investment. The campaign, known only as Project X until 1959 when it was renamed "ANA's Corporate Management Approach to the Advertising Investment," examined methods companies were using to measure the results of their advertising programs, to pretest advertising effectiveness and to evaluate media and spending strategies. The research helped place advertising in the marketing mix, clearly drawing the line as to what was possible to accomplish and depicting what was outside its province.[64] About the same time, the theoretical and classic piece that became known as "DAGMAR," was written for the Association of National Advertisers. "Defining Advertising Goals for Measured Advertising Results," reached the same basic conclusion – that advertising effects could not be measured in a marketing environment because of all the other marketplace variables. Thus it concluded that researchers should settle instead for easy-to-obtain awareness and communication measures.[65] Throughout the decade, however, management insisted on concrete proof of return on investment. At the same time, researchers called upon management to augment its demand for advertising accountability with support for difficult and expensive research.

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[62] Clarence E, Eldridge, "The Before-and-After Evaluation of Advertising Effectiveness," *Printers' Ink*, 28 July 1967, 58.

[63] "ARF Aims for Better Ad Gauges in 1960s," *Printers' Ink*, 18 September 1959, 78.

Researchers pled with others in their profession to set high standards in order to isolate advertising effects. Some concurred with DAGMAR and Project X conclusions that only indirect effects could be identified. In 1960, the vice president of Alfred Politz Research expressed doubt in the ability of mathematical models under development to reveal the relationship between advertising expenditures and sales, saying that "advertising has too many variable factors that cannot be controlled."[66] One research director in 1965 called the establishment of a sales-advertising relationship a goal researchers would never reach, concluding that the matter would forever be a topic of research discussion.[67] Yet although advertising dealt with "unpredictable and capricious human nature, ad men aren't absolved from the task of attempting to provide management with better standards of measurement of our product – advertising and of its results," the president of MacManus, John & Adams told members of the ANA in 1962.[68] Some held out hope that there would be new breakthroughs in accountability brought about by new methods of measurement aided by the computer and the applied sciences.[69] One researcher offered experimental techniques that would allow researchers to run split test markets as a solution to the dilemma, saying that it was no longer necessary for researchers "to sit and bemoan the fact that [they] can never measure the effects of advertising on sales of [their] products."[70]

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[64] "Management Wants Yardsticks for Ads, Bolin, Colley Tell ANA," *Advertising Age*, 16 November 1959, 32; "Project X: Is it Helping Ad Men?" *Printers' Ink*, 9 February 1962, 43.

[65] Russell H. Colley, *Defining Advertising Goals.* (New York: Association of National Advertisers, Inc., 1961); Theodore Dunn, "The Copy Research Classics: Published Papers that Changed Copy Research Practices," in Theodore F. Dunn, Frederick A. Elkind, and James F. Donius, eds., *Understanding Copy Pre-testing: An Instructional Collection of Noteworthy Papers on the History, Role, Methods, Measures and Validity of Copy Pre-testing Research.* (New York: Advertising Research Foundation, 1994), 39.

[66] "Research Can't Tell Effectiveness of Ads: Bonomo," *Advertising Age*, 5 December 1960, 12.

[67] "AMA Preview: Will Management Accept Fact that Ads Pay?" *Printers' Ink*, 12 June 1964, 11.

[68] "Admen must Improve Measurement, Justification of Efforts, Jones Says," *Advertising Age*, 1 October 1962, 1.

Thus in addition to "creativity," "advertising effects" was the buzzword of the day, with the exact "effects" to be measured up for discussion. The vice president of the New York-based Audits and Surveys Co., Inc., was prophetic when writing for *Printers' Ink* in 1960 of the direction attempts to measure advertising effectiveness would take throughout the decade. In the first approach, overall ad effects would be determined using sophisticated experimental designs with advertising present in some situations and deliberately excluded in others. In the analytical approach, advertising would be looked upon as a form of communication with the transmission of messages measured at several intermediate points.[71] The research of most concern to creatives was the second type.

The Copytesting Controversy

"Evaluating Advertising Effectiveness," the final volume of the ANA's guidebooks for management published in 1959, concluded that as important as it was to measure overall advertising results, it was equally as important to measure the components that contributed to those overall results: the markets, the motives, the message and the media.[72] The most controversial of these for creatives was the evaluation of the advertising message – an analysis known as "copy research."[73] Copy testing had very elementary beginnings; copywriters would simply show their work to a few friends to get opinions. Later they relied chiefly upon the opinions of those with advertising experience who presumably knew a great deal about the results of different copy and selling appeals.[74] Soon copywriters followed the dicta set forth in Claude Hopkins' 1923 book, *Scientific Advertising*. Hopkins' book was a compilation of principles and laws discovered by the Lord & Thomas mail-order copywriter who later became known as "the greatest copywriter of all time" and the one considered most analytical.[75] Official copy research, however, began with the work of Daniel Starch, who as early as 1932 measured the recognition of print ads. The following year Starch developed a syndicated service for advertisers that provided information on whether readers "noted" an advertisement and if so, whether they "read most" of it. Comparisons among the readership ads for different brands in the same product category and for various ad components were ascertained by reviewing "Starch scores."[76] Shortly thereafter, George Gallup developed a measure of print recall. His rival system, "aided recall," was determined through home visits in which researchers asked occupants if they remembered ads.[77]

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[69] "New Tools Verify Advertising's Value," *Printers' Ink*, 26 April 1963, 53.

[70] "What We Know about Measuring Ad Effects," *Printers' Ink*, 9 July 1965, 47.

[71] L.R. Frankel, "Ad Gauging Will be Empirical and Analytical, " *Printers' Ink*, 1 January 1960, 43.

[72] "ARF Aims for Better Ad Gauges in 1960s," 78, 80.

[73] Darrell Lucas Blaine, and Stewart Henderson Britt, *Measuring Advertising Effectiveness.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), 9; Jack Haskins and Alice Kendrick, *Successful Advertising Research Methods.* (Illinois: NTC Business Books, 1993), 290.

Both print and broadcast messages were subjected to testing. Tests conducted *before* the final advertisements were circulated included opinion and attitude ratings, projective techniques, laboratory testing and content analysis. Measures taken *after* circulation included memory tests and surveys about brand attitudes and sales purchases. Of the two, pre-testing has been most disliked by creatives through the years. As Sandage et al. commented in 1989, "pre-testing is easily the most controversial step in creative copy development, because at that point creative energies had been expended to produce at least a tentative approach to the advertising task."[78] In 1963, *Advertising Age* reported that a growing, but still relatively small, number of companies were pre-testing advertising before general consumer release.[79] The same year, *Printers' Ink* ran an article, "How to Get the Most Out of Copy Testing," explaining the premise of pre-testing. The method, it said, was designed to give a prediction of the selling power of the ad by determining what information had been transmitted, predicting the resulting behavior and reporting whether "minds [had] been captured."[80] Pre-testing was said to result in better ads, as it could speed up decisions, with less emphasis placed on guesswork and more on facts.[81] As one copy research director pointed out in 1965, "an ounce of copy pre-testing is worth a pound of presumptions."[82] The real leverage in such research came in increased predictability of copy effectiveness before ads were run at national levels.[83] Ogilvy saw great promise for copytesting, outlining for *Printers' Ink* in 1959 the information copywriters and advertisers wanted most from copy researchers. Topping his list were: a summary of all the previous advertising for every brand in the category, including information about the campaigns paid off and those that did not; information about the specific selling promises, and test results of the advertisements that would sell the most merchandise.[84] Yet not everyone put such faith in research as Ogilvy.

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[74] Henry Assael and C. Samuel Craig, ed., *Printers' Ink Fifty Years 1888-1938*. (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 364; Ralph M. Hower, *The History of an Advertising Agency; N.W. Ayer & Son at Work 1869-1939*. (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), 343.

[75] Claude C. Hopkins, *My Life in Advertising (and) Scientific Advertising*. (Chicago: Advertising Publications, 1966). The "rules" resulting from Hopkins' book became a source of great inspiration to David Ogilvy; Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty, *Advertising Principles and Practice*, 2d. ed., 24.

[76] Dunn, "The Copy Research Classics," 35; Charles J. Dirksen and Arthur Kroeger, *Advertising Principles and Problems*, 4th ed. (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1973), 443.

[77] Alexander L. Biel, "Do You Really Want to Know? (how advertising works)," *Journal of Advertising*, 36 (March-April 1996), RC2; Martin Mayer, *Whatever Happened to Madison Avenue? Advertising in the '90s*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1991), 144-45.

[78] C.H. Sandage, Vernon Fryburger, and Kim Rotzoll, *Advertising Theory & Practice*, 12th ed. (New York: Longman, Inc., 1989), 207.

The Attack on the "Slide-Rule Thinkers"

In his 1966 book for advertising job seekers, Johnson outlined for the prospective advertising researcher the traits that would allow for success: "If you are interested in how society is organized and how it functions, if you are fascinated by man's psychology and behavior, if you have an analytical and imaginative mind, you will enjoy advertising research."[85] Perhaps Johnson should have also added that the future advertising researcher should have a thick skin to withstand future interactions with creatives.

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[79] "Pre-testing of Ads is Slowing Growing, says NICB Report," *Advertising Age*, 30 September 1963, 79.

[80] "How to Get the Most Out of Copy Testing," *Printers' Ink*, 24 May 1963, 46.

[81] "Roman Agency's Ad Pre-Testing to Aid Clients," *Advertising Age*, 10 July 1961, 10.

[82] "Pre-testing of Ads Essential, Kominik tells Montreal Club," *Advertising Age*, 18 October 1965, 92.

[83] "Advertiser Abdicates in Leaving Copy Research to Agency, Dodge tells IAA," *Advertising Age*, 3 June 1963, 94.

[84] "ANA Counsels Management on Ad Research," *Printers' Ink*, 24 April 1959, 77-8.

[85] George Johnson, *Your Career in Advertising*. (New York: Julian Messner, 1966) 82.

The creative man, who in 1960 complained of being the low man on the totem pole, by mid-decade was ruling the shop and was not happy with the research man telling him what to do.[86] In fact, he had not been happy with research for many years. While the use of research to provide information about the product or service and the people who were likely to use it was largely uncontroversial, its application to the evaluation of the advertising message spurred debate as to how extensively, if at all, the creative product should be the subject of research discipline. At the dawn of the Creative Revolution, Hal Stebbins, president of his namesake Los Angeles agency and frequent contributor to *Advertising Age*, criticized those whom he said "never sen[t] their creative linen to the laundry without a fervent prayer to Dr. Starch." He stressed that while Starch scores could show "how many were *flagged*," they could not show "how many were *bagged* – the tally that counts at the register."[87] In a scathing attack on research-oriented agencies, the president of MacManus, John & Adams in 1959 called the advertising of the day "beautiful but sterile." The advertising appeal, he said, could not be "supplied by IBM machines or slide rules," but rather must come from the "inspired hunch – the secret ingredient of all great advertising."[88] The "rule-book pretenders" of the previous decade were under attack. *Printers' Ink* told its readers in 1961 that it would only be through giving the pretenders a chance to fail that agencies would be able to give the truly creative people a chance to demonstrate the heights of success.[89] The article pointed to the most significant question of the day: Was advertising an art, or was it a science? [90]

For many creatives, research had achieved the reputation of being "an oppressive halter on the imagination," and trade press articles did little to contradict that depiction. [91] A 1964 *Advertising Age* article cautioned that "the creative adman has a very good right to be suspicious of the researcher, because research, a great many times, does a great deal more damage than good."[92] Articles warned against the "dangers of slide-rule thinking" and questioned the ability of research to really determine advertising effects in its "urgent scramble to develop a 'true' yardstick for advertising effectiveness." If researchers were to *really* measure advertising, the president of Florida Grower Publications told readers in a 1962 *Printers' Ink* editorial, they would need to learn to measure "a man's laugh, a woman's emotion and a child's tear."[93] While management had confidence that ads selected through pre-testing were better than other alternatives in uncovering the messages they wanted to get across, creatives certainly did not feel the same.[94] The agency's creative reputation depended on the ads that made it through the testing system; thus any system that persistently rejected what they considered their "best" creative efforts became an object of bitter controversy. Research had grown from its humble origins as an ancillary service, and its earlier position did not provide the best basis for later integration with the work of the copywriter. One author likened the situation to that resulting when "the stagehand who invented a new dance rhythm… is pushed on stage with the old prima ballerina."[95]

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[86] The low self concept of creatives at the beginning of the decade is seen in the self doubting of one columnist who wondered why idea men were "at the bottom of the totem pole" while the account executive sat high aloft; "Why are Idea Men at the Bottom of the Totem Pole?" *Printers' Ink*, 8 January 1960, 60.

[87] Hal Stebbins, "Leave the Marketing Concept to Clients: Let's Get Back to Advertising," *Advertising Age*, 8 September 1958, 98.

[88] "Inspired Hunch is Secret of All Great Ads: Adams," *Advertising Age*, 9 June 1958, 87.

[89] "Surge in Creativity: Is Intuition the Key?' *Printers' Ink*, 15 September 1961, 45.

[90] Patti and Moriarty make the distinction between advertising as an *art* and advertising as a *science*: "Whereas the artistic approach to advertising used professional judgment and artistic intuition to arrive at aesthetically pleasing programs, the scientific approach used research, analysis and planning to arrive at strategically sound decisions." Charles H. Patti, and Sandra E. Moriarty, *The Making of Effective Advertising*. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1990), 17-8.

[91] "Researcher Asks More Discipline for Idea Men, Creativeness for Statisticians," *Printers' Ink*, 3 October, 1958, 86.

The creative man's disdain for research led to much frustration among management and researchers alike. Despite the creatives' criticism, some researchers accused, they were more than happy to use research when it proved their point, calling on it to put out the fire whenever anything went wrong. These "hunch players" were "the biggest thorn in the research man's shoe," according to a 1958 *Printers' Ink* report.[96] In writing for *Printers' Ink* in 1962, the president of Marsteller Inc. argued that copy research should present no hardship to any creative person who kept in mind the fact that his assignment is communication and not a "demonstration of his virtuosity." To support his point, he offered the words of

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[92] Marin, *50 Years of Advertising*, 77.

[93] John McCarthy, "The Dangers of Slide-Rule Thinking," *Printers' Ink*, 9 July 1965, 66; Harris H. Mullin, "Numbers Game," *Advertising Age*, 22 June 1962, 64.

[94] Edward M. Stern, "Measure Ad Communication, Effect on Attitudes, Not Just Media Exposure, Ed Stern Urges Advertisers," *Advertising Age*, 29 June 1964, 71.

[95] Patrick Hall, "Motivation Research: Lie Down… I Want to Talk to You," In Elbrun Rockford French, ed., *The Copywriter's Guide*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 459.

[96] "What is the Research Man's Job – Giving Straight Facts or Interpreting?" *Printers' Ink*, 4 April 1958, 74.

David Ogilvy, who had attributed much of the creative's resistance to research from "the natural laziness of most creative men."[97] Burns Roper also criticized the creative man's aversion to research – research that would enable "the highly creative and unusual to come into being when it might otherwise have been thought too risky and unproven to use." Such an individual, Roper told ANA seminar participants in 1968, was in effect saying, "Don't confuse me with the facts. I prefer to be totally uninhibited by knowledge."[98] Because research men were becoming more creative-minded, intuitive, flexible and practical, the author of a 1959 guide for aspiring copywriters stressed, copywriters, for their own good, should have been willing to meet them halfway. "Today, a writer with a firm grasp of how much research can do to help him has a wide advantage over the rest of the field," the author noted.[99]

The caution for aspiring researchers, on the other hand, seen in the 1963 introductory textbook *Measuring Advertising Effectiveness,* was to realize their role as assistants to – not controllers of – the creative process. "Research never wrote an ad… research is not a substitute for creativeness, but does provide facts upon which creativeness can go to work," the authors elaborated. The authors actually offered promise for a reconciliation of the two factions. A good deal of the former antagonism between the people who 'made the ads' and the people who 'made the research' had been ironed out, they contended. However, the authors may have been a bit optimistic in their remarks that members of each group realized "more and more that they will be better off if they form mutual-admiration societies."[100]

Factors of Friction

Unlike the optimistic authors of the 1963 text, two researchers who had practiced during the decade did not reach the same conclusion when writing twenty years later. Instead, the researchers noted, creatives insistently accused copy research of "putting creativity into a straightjacket" and looked upon those in the research industry as "issuing report cards," "measuring them with imperfect rules" and "bludgeoning creativity with blunt instruments."[101] One such instrument that surfaced as a threat to creatives was the emerging computer. The principle reason creative admen opposed research, according to the marketing research manager of Ford Motor Co. in 1960, was that they feared electronic machines would replace them in the advertising field.[102] Creatives were issued assurances that as long as the brain held the advantage over the machine of being able to innovate, the advantage would be "the stronghold of the creative individual."[103] At the Advertising Research Foundation's 1962 annual conference – a meeting in which the "star of the program" was said to be the computer – speakers vowed that the machine would never replace the human, but rather would act as an "efficient assistant in his decision process."[104] The computer was viewed as a tool to be used by people of sound media and marketing judgment, and its use would be "comparable to giving a man a power shovel instead of a spade."[105] Yet by 1963, an article had appeared in a famous newsletter of the day that outlined the role computers could play in copy analysis. A creative director lashed out in a *Printers' Ink* editorial that the call for a computer program to do copy analysis would result only in a "rule book approach" to writing. Doubtful that a computer could detect copy clarity and urge to action, the director found it *incomprehensible* that a computer could "feel the warmth and friendliness and honesty and charm that really made copy effective above and beyond the rules."[106]

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[97] Richard C. Christian, "Creativity's Final Proof: Moving Readers to Act," *Printers'* Ink, 21 December 1962, 73.

[98] "Close Creative-Research Gap, Panelists Urge ANA Seminar, " *Advertising Age,* 4 March 1968, 72.

[99] Hall, "Motivation Research: Lie Down," 459. The shift toward a more creative-oriented researcher can be seen in agency requests for such employees, such as the 1967 ad placed by an Atlanta agency looking for a "sound-thinking media/marketing analyst who believes that media is a *creative job as well as a statistical data job*" (emphasis author's). "Media/Marketing Man for Atlanta Agency," *Advertising Age*, 21 August 1967, 91, Column 2.

[100] Blaine and Britt, *Measuring Advertising Effectiveness,* 13.

It is possible that the creatives' fear of, or disdain for, computers stemmed from confusion as to the exact role the machines were to play. Explaining their procedures was not a strongpoint of the researchers, as they were often criticized for having poor communication skills. As early as 1960, account managers argued that research could contribute more often than it did – if more researchers would clearly interpret and articulate their findings, especially for creative people.[107] The key to helpful research is relevance, the vice president in charge of research at Leo Burnett wrote for *Printers' Ink* in 1963. "The need is to make the research information more pertinent to the creative man's needs, so that he can digest it and use it," he claimed.[108] In a 1959 guide for copywriters, a section titled "Let's Get Together" pointed to the inability of researchers to explain the potential and limitation of their research as the single greatest obstacle to the effective use of research. To the "nonresearch laity," the author noted, "such research sounds complicated, even jargonistic."[109] In a 1961 article titled "Semantic Confusion," *Printers' Ink* commented that for researchers, "the big words… offered seriously, are part of a mystique to keep the uninitiated out" and "to maintain professional distance." Some researchers were afraid to write in plain English for fear it would all sound too simple, the article charged, commenting that "all the gobbledygook serves only to confuse and obscure."[110] Also adding to the communication problem was that the research director and his principal assistants, so overburdened with mechanical tasks, had little time for their one most important job – explaining how the research findings could be useful in the creation of a better advertising campaign. By the time the information was filtered through the account executive and the copy chief, the communication problems were compounded.[111] Others claimed it was a case of facts getting obscured by "the furor over techniques."[112] "Unless the research man has a genuine understanding and respect for the limitations of his techniques," an account supervisor charged in 1960, " the chances are he'll do little more than inhibit the creative man."[113] One researcher placed the onus on management, saying that the biggest problem for advertising research was not coming up with the answers but for management to ask the right questions.[114] This again pointed to the issue that the entire problem of proving advertising's effectiveness could not be resolved until management decided what it wanted advertising to do.

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[101] The authors claim such comments were quoted verbatim. Donald H. McCollum, and Harold M. Spielman, "It's an Exciting Time to Grow Up," In Benjamin Lipstein, ed., *Copy Research – A Historical Retrospective*. (New York: Advertising Research Foundation, 1986), 81.

[102] "Creative Admen Fear Robots will Displace 'Em: Eggert, *Advertising Age*, 14 March 1960, 82. Considering the promise being held out for computers at that time, the creatives' fears do not seem completely misplaced. In 1961, *Advertising Age* ran an article to let readers know that the quiet clicking they heard was a "widespread computer invasion of Madison Ave." at a time when computers were "just about set to take over agency media and research functions." Computers, it was reported, could accomplish in about five minutes a set of media problems that would take a three-man crew a month to solve. (Robert Heady, "Computers Moving into Media, Research Fields," *Advertising Age*, 29 May 1961, 79.)

[103] "Creative Admen Fear Robots," 82. Computer makers during this time actually talked of how their creations led to the release of more people for important creative work in the agency, saying that while computers could take over all *quantitative* media and research functions, the *qualitative* was another story. Heady, "Computers Moving into Media," 79.

[104] "Computers Dominate Talk at ARF Session," *Advertising Age*, 8 October 1962, 1.

[105] "BBDO Computer Aid in Analyzing Media: Brower," *Advertising Age*, 20 November 1961, 6.

[106] Kensinger Jones, "You've Gotta Have Heart!" *Printers' Ink*, 29 November 1963, 66.

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[107] "Stanton Tells AMA How B&B Uses Research in 'Sell Message' Strategy," *Advertising Age*, 25 April 1960, 74-5.

[108] John S. Coulson, "Research must Predict Ad's Effects, says Coulson – and He Cites Examples of How It's Done," *Advertising Age*, 30 September 1963, 90.

[109] Hall, "Motivation Research: Lie Down," 459.

[110] "NICB Puts Yardstick on Ad Effectiveness," *Printers' Ink*, 19 January 1962, 14.

[111] "Should Advertising Agencies Stay Out of Research?" *Printers' Ink*, 12 August 1960, 24.

[112] "What is the Research Man's Job," 72.

[113] "Stanton Tells AMA how B&B Uses Research in 'Sell Message' Strategy," 74.

The role of research in decision making was one issue agencies needed to address. Many felt that advertisers had become trapped into doing copy testing as a substitute for taking a stand. "Our world is full of decision makers who are afraid to decide, and for such people the scored copy test is the last great security blanket," the president of the Advertising Research Federation said in 1969. While research, it was said, could not create great copy, it did give a feeling of total protection, as it had become a "tool in the hands of the inconclusive" by getting the decision maker off the hook.[115] Another issue to be resolved was the degree to which researchers were expected to offer opinions based on their results. Top research men had begun to insist on having a say in such decisions. Yet the role of the researcher, as outlined in a 1958 *Printers' Ink* article, was to uncover facts, to indicate what decision those facts justified and then to stand back of the recommendations until action was taken."[116] In their 1964 text on *Marketing Research*, Ferber et al. noted the importance of the researcher's being independent, commenting that the value of a good research man depended in part on his ability to remain independent of the competitive drives of those aspiring to top management positions.[117] The issue of researcher objectivity surfaced throughout the period, as agencies often played the joint role of creator and evaluator of their product. Even the staunchest advocates of agency research conceded that some degree of pressure always existed to prove the agency right, particularly in the vital areas of copy platform and media choice.[118] One researcher, fed up with such pressures by the end of the decade, pled with account executives to stop downgrading research techniques any time the results refuted the agency's platform, reminding them that the agency's creative recommendation did not have to be right every time.[119] The solution for clients was to employ their own research staffs or to retain independent researchers in order to get market and advertising facts they could feel certain were free of any agency bias.[120] By the 1970s, the balance of power for marketing had shifted dramatically from the agency side to the client side. Companies, formerly more sales-oriented, took on a marketing focus. As their marketing research departments grew, agency research departments dwindled. Changes in agency compensation also contributed to the shift from agency research. Under the old fifteen percent commission system, the agency was expected to provide copy research services; under the new fee-based payment system, such services were no longer automatic.[121]

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[114] "Key Research Need: Ask Right Question," *Printers' Ink,* 7 October 1960, 13.

[115] Howard Lucraft, "Account Men are Major Obstacles to Effective Copy, ANA-4A's says," *Advertising Age*, 24 March 1969, 10; Donald L. Kanter, "Marketing Research Break-throughs in '60s will be Managerial, Not Technical," *Advertising Age*, 11 June 1962, 74.

[116] "What is the Research Man's Job," 74.

[117] Robert Ferber, Donald F. Blankertz, and Sidney Hollander, Jr., *Marketing Research*. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1964), 42. Because executives made strategic decisions and took direct responsibility for outcomes, they generally received greater financial rewards. The researcher found himself outranked on the salary scale by a colleague with "less training and perhaps less intellectual capacity." At the same time it was not unusual for a business to prescribe research activity as part of an executive training program due to the objectivity it would afford the future manager. The role of research as a launching pad for future agency endeavors is seen in a 1964 *New York Times* ad for a researcher who would "move from research to asst. AE at giant 4A agency." "Market Research $10-$14,000," *The New York Times*, 6 December 1964, W13, Column 8.

The End of an Era

The shift in research focus from agency to advertiser, however, was just one of a myriad of factors characterizing a new era of advertising in the seventies. In *The Mirror Makers*, historian Stephen Fox writes that the Creative Revolution was replaced in the 1970s by a shift from creative emphasis to management science, from small creative shops and boutiques to large corporate structures, from vivid personalities to corporate anonymity, and from art, inspiration and intuition to research numbers.[122] As was the case ten years before, the consumer reaction to the advertising of the day was a major force driving the change. This time, the Vietnam War and a downturn in the economy were two factors that led to a consumer revolt against the advertising of the day.[123] In a hauntingly familiar remark to that made by an agency executive twelve years earlier to explain the rise of the Creative Revolution, Jack Trout and Al Ries, in writing for *Advertising Age* on their new philosophy of advertising – one based on strategic positioning of products in the minds of consumers – pointed to the set of circumstances that had given rise to a new type of advertising for the 1970s. "The fun and games of the '60s have given way to the harsh realities of the '70s," they wrote. "Today's marketplace is no longer responsive to the kind of advertising that worked in the past. There are just too many products, too many companies, too much marketing 'noise.'"[124] A decade after the "Creative Revolution" had peaked, agencies had fallen into the trap of imitating their clients and each other. Just as the "me-too" *products* of the 1950s killed the product era, the "me-too" *images* of the 1960s killed the image era.[125] Management, according to the president of a Chicago agency in 1969, had begun to question the "never-never world of creativity," and increasingly pled for advertising profit accountability.[126] Clients seeking results hired marketing graduates who understood strategic planning. Agency executives turned to science for help, and in the words of William Myers, author of *The Image-Makers*, "Ad Alley's brainy, zany pioneers" gave way to a new generation of "squeaky-clean image technicians."[127] Advertising turned its attention to hard-sell advertising, and ads took on the look of the safe 1950s "formula ads" – slice-of-life commercials showing people enjoying the product.[128] Creativity was no longer enough in the positioning era where "strategy" was king.

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[118] "Should Advertising Agencies Stay Out of Research?" 20.

[119] "Defining and Analyzing the Account Executive: Hero or Villain?" *Advertising Age*, 14 July 1969, 61.

[120] Johnson, *Your Career in Advertising*, 82.

[121] A. Strauss, "Presentation to the Copy Research Seminar of the Advertising Research Foundation," *Copy Research in the Age of Technology: Fifth Annual Advertising Research Foundation Copy Research Workshop*, In The New York Hilton, New York, May 3-4, 1988, by the Advertising Research Foundation.

[122] Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators*. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984), 272, 314.

[123] Myers, *The Image-Makers*, 41.

Art directors and copywriters who had led the industry into its most shining era were outranked by MBAs who had been lured into the business. One researcher rejoiced in the reversal of agency hierarchy – a change he saw as signaling "the death of the smart-ass creative man." "I think we've seen the last of the 24-year-old copywriter lecturing to the client about what advertising is all about, and I say that's a good thing," he told members of the American Advertising Federation in 1970.[129] But just as many creatives had given a blanket rejection to the use of research in the sixties, they lashed out at positioning in the seventies for restricting their creativity.[130] Agency research departments also faced their share of change in the seventies. "Once a gaudy bauble on many an agency's Christmas tree of supportive functions," *Ad Age* wrote in 1971, "the research department today finds itself adjusting to an increasingly cold, 'pay-your-way' environment."[131] Agencies whittled their research staffs but added research services in hopes of making research a break-even or profitable activity. Departments were revamped to be more competitive with independent research suppliers in order to lure client research business back.[132]

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[124] Trout and Ries, "The Positioning Era Cometh," 35.

[125] Rigg and Breznick, "Crumbling Empire," 31.

[126] "Advertising Must Add Accountability or Keep Fading: Demmy," *Advertising Age*, 17 March 1969, 6. One agency head commented years later that "by the early '70s, creativity was viewed as the handmaiden of the devil." Pat Sloan, "What Trout and Ries Hath Wrought," *Advertising Age*, 13 June 1994, 51.

[127] Myers, *The Image-Makers*, 41.

[128] Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty, *Advertising – Principles and Practice*, 2d ed., 30.

The Battle Continues

In 1986, *Advertising Age* ran an article debating the merits of pre-testing. In it, the creative director at J. Walter Thompson was quoted as saying "the popular desire among creative executives is to take research departments and wring their necks."[133] Thus, almost a quarter of a century after the Creative Revolution, the rift between creatives and researchers remained. Today, future advertising practitioners are taught to accept as commonplace the animosity between the two agency functions. In his 1984 textbook section titled "Reins on Creativity," Mandell painted a compelling negative portrayal for future creatives who would eventually be forced to interact with the research arms of their organizations. "Talk to any copywriter or art director, and chances are pretty good that you will talk to a frustrated person," he noted. The frustration lay in the creative's inability to have free rein in creative matters due to the constant alteration of his or her work by account executives, clients and researchers. The researcher's major infraction is in suggesting "changes everywhere because research 'shows' the advertisement will not 'pull.'" While the author conceded that the suggestions of those outside the department could improve advertisements, he stressed that it was only natural that "creative people, the real experts [in such matters], should object to having their efforts emasculated by the 'blue pencil.'"[134] In their 1991 *Fundamentals of Advertising Research*, Fletcher and Bowers discuss the way in which creative personnel take offense to what they see as a "scorecard mentality" – the idea that their messages can be reduced to numbers.[135] A 2000 introductory advertising text by O'Guinn, Allen and Semenik highlights the "antagonism between the creative department and the research department," a friction the authors attribute to the difficulty of assessing an ad's effectiveness.[136] Other texts provide assurance to future copywriters that they will escape dealing with researchers due to the newly developed account planner position, created to bridge the widening gap between traditional agency research, creative departments and account management.[137]

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[129] "Boutique, Not Account Exec," 10.

[130] "How to Position Your Product," *Advertising Age*, 8 May 1972, 16.

[131] "Agencies' Research Operations Become Profit-Center Oriented," *Advertising Age*, 28 February 1972, 68.

[132] Rigg and Breznick, "Crumbling Empire," 31.

[133] Wallach, "Pretesting," 18.

The message is simple: creatives don't like researchers much. Their contempt may stem from what one management consultant terms "tribalism" – disdain for others outside the team, from their perception that research – particularly copy testing – will interfere with their creativity, or simply as a natural result of agency researchers evaluating advertising. [138] The conflict between creatives and researchers lives on… the seeds of which were sown in advertising's golden age of the soft-sell sixties.

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[134] Maurice I. Mandell, *Advertising*, 4th ed. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 438.

[135] Alan D. Fletcher and Thomas A. Bowers, *Fundamentals of Advertising Research*, 4th ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1991), 206.

[136] Thomas C. O'Guinn, Chris T. Allen, and Richard J. Semenik, *Advertising*^{2}, 2d ed. (Boston: South-Western College Publishing, 2000), 321.

[137] William F. Arens and Courtland L. Bovée, *Contemporary Advertising* 5th ed., ed. Jack J. Whidden. (Illinois: Irwin,1994), 80; William F. Arens, *Contemporary Advertising*, 7th ed. (Boston: Irwin/McGraw-Hill, 1999), 98.

[138] "Managing Creatives," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 61(16), 501; William D. Wells, "Point of View: How to End the Never Ending," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 23(2), 1983, 68.

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_______"Ad World Ready for Renaissance, Brower Tells 4A's," *Advertising Age*, 25 April 1960, 70.

_______"Admen Must Improve Measurement, Justification of Efforts, Jones Says," *Advertising Age*, 1 October 1962, 1.

_______"Ads from 'Creative Boutiques' Not Working: Bloede to B&B Conference," *Advertising Age*, 22 January 1965, 50

_______"Advertiser Abdicates in Leaving Copy Research to Agency, Dodge tells IAA," *Advertising Age*, 3 June 1963, 94-5.

_______"Advertising Copywriter $HI," *New York Times*, 26 January 1964, Column 5.

_______ "Advertising Must Add Accountability or Keep Fading: Demmy," *Advertising Age*, 17 March 1969, 6.

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_______"Agencies Paying High for Creative Skill: Goldschmidt," *Advertising Age*, 24 October 1966, 1.

_______"AMA Preview: Will Management Accept Fact that Ads Pay?" *Printers' Ink*, 12 June 1964, 11-12.

_______"ANA Counsels Management on Ad Research," *Printers' Ink*, 24 April 1959, 77-8.

_______"Are You This Copywriter?" *Advertising Age*, 26 January 1959, 98, 4, Column 1-2.

Arens, William F., and Courtland L. Bovée. *Contemporary Advertising* 7th ed. Jack J. Whidden, Illinois: Irwin, 1999.

_______"ARF Aims for Better Ad Gauges in 1960s," *Printers' Ink*, 18 September 1959, 78.

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Bee So Near Thereto: A History of Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States

Thomas A. Schwartz, Associate Professor
School of Journalism and Communication
Ohio State University
Derby Hall 3074
154 N. Oval Mall
Columbus, OH 43210-1358
Phone (614) 292-1006
Fax (614) 292-2055
schwartz.13@osu.edu

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A paper to be presented to the History Division at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington, D.C., 2001

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Thomas A. Schwartz, Associate Professor
School of Journalism and Communication
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Derby Hall 3074
154 N. Oval Mall
Columbus, OH 43210-1358
Phone (614) 292-1006
Fax (614) 292-2055
schwartz.13@osu.edu

Abstract

Leonard W. Levy's famed history of early American press freedom concluded that while the constitution's framers believed in seditious libel law, newspapers of the period were commonly in violation of it, suggesting that there was a gap between press freedom theory and practice and that journalism may have helped erode seditious libel law doctrine. This paper attempts to apply this thesis to a subsequent incident in press freedom history, leading to the 1918 U.S. Supreme Court decision that the First Amendment did not inhibit federal judges in punishing critics of the courts. In the tradition of many such case biographies, this paper tells the story of Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States, a 1918 U.S. Supreme Court decision that upheld the right of federal courts summarily to punish press critics of the judiciary.

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BEE SO NEAR THERETO:
A HISTORY OF TOLEDO NEWSPAPER CO. V. UNITED STATES

The modern American libertarian theory of press freedom provides that criticism of government should be protected by the First Amendment, but as historian Leonard W. Levy has amply demonstrated, this was not the view of the framers of the Constitution.[1] In fact, not until 1964 did the United States Supreme Court give the First Amendment its seemingly self-evident "central meaning" that seditious libel law—allowing punishment of government critics[2]—was unconstitutional.[3]

Levy found the first traces of the advancement of the contemporary view of First Amendment theory in the unsuccessful Jeffersonian arguments against the enactment of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.[4] Levy, after withering criticism, later conceded that the aggressive journalism of the early American press revealed a gap between the period's press freedom theory and practice and undoubtedly advanced the cause of ridding the accommodation of seditious libel law in the system of freedom of expression that evolved.[5]

The elimination of American seditious libel law was slow and painful and perhaps is not perfectly complete.[6] Clashes between government authority and its critics are the chapters in the story of the most libertarian realm of freedom of expression in world history.[7] These events and trends provided locomotion for political theorists and jurists to advance or at least reflect on the cause of advocates for maximal protection for political discourse. But like their predecessors in the colonial and constitutional eras, journalists and their organizations ranging from the allegedly radical—abolitionists, Copperheads and Socialists—to the mainstream—the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and CBS—have ever since played important roles, often at tremendous personal or institutional costs, in the story of the demise of the law of seditious libel.[8]

This paper is devoted to one important but largely untold episode,[9] a futile attempt by a Toledo, Ohio, newspaper in 1914 to criticize a federal judge's actions and to have reversed by the United States Supreme Court on First Amendment grounds the newspaper's and editor's fines and the editor's jail sentence resulting from the criticism.[10] The principle that judges, like other public officials, should be subject to public criticism, was lost at the Court in 1918, only to become a fixture of journalistic practice over time and then of First Amendment law in 1940, three days after the editor died. The story involves a fiery progressive editor, an indignant federal judge and a U.S. Supreme Court that itself evolved from a period of reactionary jurisprudence to a period of active crusades for rights of political expression.

The Setting

The period 1900-20 in American history is named after the general philosophy that drove progressive policy proposals to address the economic, social and political problems caused by the industrial revolution beginning after the Civil War and lasting to the World War I era. The progressive movement was concerned with monopolistic practices and other abuses of industry, the changes in and demands of the labor force and the riddles accompanying massive urbanization and immigration.[11]

Toledo, like many other American cities, experienced the industrial revolution and problems it brought. Before the Civil War, Toledo was established as a leading port and was the third largest rail center in the United States. Transportation, especially of coal and other raw materials, was important to the area's economy. Industrialization was rapid and diverse. Gas and oil were discovered south of Toledo in 1884, leading to the beginning of the glass industry and one of the largest petroleum refining centers in the United States. Before 1900, Toledo was also a center for the manufacture of bicycles and wagons, and with the invention of the automobile, the city became a major source for auto parts and accessories.[12] Toledo shared during this period in what Arthur S. Link and William P. Catton called the "golden period of American development," the growth in population from rural migration and a doubling of wage earners.[13]

At the turn of the century, Toledo had a population of 131,822 and like many other growing industrial cities in the east and midwest, was a hub of reform politics. Some of the nation's most truculent battles were fought between entrenched Toledo party bosses defending traditional political machines and municipal reformers intent on making city government accountable and an instrument for change.[14] Industrialist and Mayor Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones in Toledo became a pioneer in local progressive politics. Jones was enormously popular with working voters, winning landslide re-elections despite such controversial strategies as chastising church leaders for trying to close saloons on Sunday, losing the Republican Party endorsement (and refusing support of the Democrats), disempowering the police force and acquitting in mayor's court prostitutes, drunkards and other miscreants because of their victimization by society. Nevertheless, neither Jones nor his successor and disciple, Brand Whitlock, was able to bring to Toledo as many of the progressive successes as in Cleveland and other cities with reformed municipal governments in Ohio and elsewhere.[15]

Negley Cochran

No journalist can empirically be established as the personification of The Progressive Editor, but one candidate might be Negley Cochran, who led the Toledo

News-Bee in 1903-18. He was born the oldest son among eight children on December 20, 1863 in Martin's Ferry in Belmont County, Ohio. His father was a lawyer, business leader, Republican and strict Methodist, but his parents emphasized values in toleration and community involvement. His family was financially comfortable, but Cochran, as a child, was not discouraged from associating with "working people" from whom he claimed he learned much and came to appreciate and respect.[16]

After Cochran dropped out of the University of Michigan at age 20, he was brought home to study law in his father's office. "I tackled Blackstone, Kent, Chitty and others," but a legal career seemed improbable for Cochran who decided to try the newspaper business. He became a circulation canvasser, then a reporter for the Republican Toledo *Commercial* where he eagerly learned all aspects of the newspaper business. He was later hired as a reporter for the Toledo *Blade*, the national and powerful Republican voice of David Ross Locke, for whom Cochran also performed political functions. Cochran came to despise traditional Republican Party politics led in the state by George "Boss" Cox of Cincinnati, and, like many young Republicans of the time, idolized Ohio's reform Governor Joseph "Fighting" Foraker.[17]

With a reputation for political activism, Cochran was named managing editor of the *Commercial* in 1890-92, then managing editor of the Republican *Bee* until 1896 when it declared bankruptcy. Cochran, using borrowed money, bought the Bee Co. for $15,000 in 1897, and brought enough success to retire the debt in 1902. Representing their interests, Cochran sold all of the other owners' stock in 1903 for $50,000 to the Scripps-McRae League, which also bought the Toledo *Times* and merged the companies to form the *News-Bee*. E.W. Scripps, Milton McRae and Cochran agreed that Cochran should remain as editor and the local voice of the paper.[18] Cochran's raucous style and conversion to the Democratic Party offended some advertisers and McRae, but by 1912 he won the admiration of Scripps, built the newspaper into the League's third most valuable property (behind the Cleveland *Press* and Cincinnati *Post*) and surpassed the *Blade* as the largest circulation newspaper in Toledo.[19] When famed *Blade* editor Grove Patterson first arrived in Toledo in 1909, he was intimidated by Cochran, "the dynamic, atom-smashing editor of the *News-Bee*."[20]

By the time Cochran joined the *Bee*, he had the expertise, experience and confidence to build the newspaper. Understanding that the nature of the explosive growth of Toledo was in immigrant laborers and unions, he became a career-long advocate for their causes and of working people more generally. Cochran's crusades for the more dire elements in the progressive platform, while a good marketing practice for his newspaper for the duration of the progressive period, were thwarted by a restraintist judiciary and eventually contributed to a frustrated reconciliation between the city's conservative business community and liberal political establishment.

Toledo Politics

Toledo's "boss" in 1895 was Mayor George P. Waldorf who, along with his protégé and successor Walter Brown, was a lieutenant of national Republican Party boss Mark Hanna of Cleveland. Their small-time graft included dispensing jobs to get votes, distributing contracts for favors and skimming profits from gamblers and prostitutes, but Cochran and Jones suspected Waldorf and Brown of more serious offenses, such as accepting bribes from businesses for public rights and privileges, especially franchises and contracts to run railways and utilities.[21]

Brown, a Harvard Law School graduate and later chair of the Republican State Committee, was Cochran's principal nemesis throughout his tenure as a Toledo editor. "I fought for the people and he fought for the machine," Cochran remembered in 1935. "I am not sure today which was right." As editor of the Democratic *Bee,* Cochran helped oust a Republican city council in favor of Democrats, but "they turned out to be worse than the Republican Council. ... I had to fight like the devil to keep that Council from going haywire."[22]

Reformer Jones was elected as the Republican candidate for mayor in 1897, but having proved in his first term to be too radical for his party's taste, he was refused the Republicans' endorsement in a re-election campaign that he won handily.[23] Even though Jones turned down Cochran's invitations to join the Democratic Party, Cochran supported Jones in two of his next three re-election campaigns for mayor and for his campaigns for governor in 1896 and 1900. Cochran received state party orders not to provide coverage of Jones, and even the Republican Toledo *Blade* ignored him, but Cochran found the politician's actions journalistically irresistible.[24]

Jones' political catechism, based in social justice philosophy, sought humane working conditions, unions and minimum wage for city workers, a system of merit instead of patronage for municipal employment, public ownership of utilities, abandonment of franchises for public works, expansion of public parks, schools and beaches, and public golf links, free concerts and kindergartens. He wanted to make Toledo "a model cooperative commonwealth." Jones sensed public tolerance of saloons and gambling halls and criticized leading clerics who campaigned against them. Presiding in police court, he treated reprobates as victims of society. The poor were let off and the rich punished. His concern for the downtrodden made the press cringe, alienated the "respectable class" and brought ridicule on Toledo.[25]

Whether Republican or Democrat, Cochran was consistently liberal and progressive. His association with Jones led Cochran to support specific programs of reform: elimination of special favors, strengthening of anti-trust laws, government ownership of natural monopolies, the eight-hour work day, civil service reform, direct election of senators, referendum, recall, initiative and home rule, and the power of cities to operate water, gas, light and transportation companies.[26]

Progressives were commonly frustrated in their reform initiatives by the conservative judiciary. The judiciary is "the one formidable obstacle which must be overcome before anything substantial could be accomplished to free the public from the exactions of oppressive monopolies and from the domination of property interests," Wisconsin Senator Robert M. LaFollette said in 1912. "The judiciary has grown to be the most powerful institution in our government. ... Evidence abounds that ... the courts pervert justice almost as often as they administer it."[27] The conservatives in control of the Republican Party resisted its own progressive tendencies almost as much as they resisted the Democrats. Under Hanna's influence, President McKinley and his successors until President Wilson consistently appointed federal judges who defended the status quo.

A good example was John M. Killits (1858-1938). A graduate of Oberlin and Williams colleges, Killits published daily and weekly newspapers in Iowa for three years, then moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked as a clerk for various government offices. He then entered law school, graduating in 1885. He moved to his home, Bryan, Ohio, where he was elected in 1892 the county prosecutor and then a Republican county judge.[28] He was picked in 1910 by President Taft to fill the federal judgeship for the Western Division of the Northern District of Ohio.[29] He became a political target of liberals in 1912 when he dismissed criminal indictments against Hanna, his son and their railroad for conspiracy to violate an interstate commerce statute.[30] "It is obvious to anyone familiar with the times ... that no man would then have been appointed Federal judge in Northern Ohio whose antipathy to the 'demagogic' [progressive] movement could not be relied upon," a pair of legal scholars observed in 1928.[31]

The Railway Controversy

Cochran built the circulation and revenue of the *Bee* and *News-Bee* with a raucous populist style. Always the trust buster, Cochran attacked all business combinations, especially assailing the coal and ice trusts in Toledo and Ohio, but it was the crusade against the Toledo railway trust that endured throughout the progressive period. Although this was a flash point issue in cities across the midwest during this period,[32] it was especially intractable for Toledo, partly because of the Progressives' insistence on unnaturally low fares and public ownership of the city's railways.

Over-building of the city's horse-drawn rail lines led to their combination in 1885 as a single firm, the Toledo Street Railway Co. In 1889, however, the rival Toledo Electric Street Car Co. proposed a faster, safer electric car system with a five-cent fare, the prevailing amount for a horse-drawn ride. In order to win a five-year franchise, however, the company was forced to charge only a three-cent fare and to cede one percent of its gross profits to the city.[33] Even when the electric car company proposed in 1893 to require riders to purchase tickets at company headquarters when conductors exhausted their supplies, the prickly *Bee* answered with a banner headline: "TOLEDO FLIMFLAMMED."[34]

The horse-drawn transit company adopted electricity in 1890 and merged with the electric car company in 1895, charging five cents for a ride. Despite criticism, the "Big Con," as its critics named the traction company, could continue to charge five cents until the old ordinance expired in 1900, and it proposed in 1896 a five-cent fare for some lines in a new 25-year franchise ordinance which the city council adopted and, after the mayor vetoed it, over-rode the veto.[35]

The company complained that a three-cent fare was not viable to operate a profitable street railway but offered some other concessions. In a series of argumentative articles and editorials in 1896 and 1897, the *Bee* purportedly exposed the flaws in the company's financial projections and offered the paper's own eight-point program, including a fare of eight tickets for a quarter.[36]

The central issue in the city election of 1897 was the railway fare, and in his coverage of the campaign, Cochran carefully labeled every candidate for council and mayor as "traction" or "anti-traction," running their names and designations almost daily on the front page. Anti-traction groups and candidates, regardless of party, eventually formed the Municipal League, an avowed reform organization.[37]

In January 1897, the traction company announced it would have to reduce by 10 percent the salaries of its employees because of lost revenue and deployed them to petition candidates to support the five-cent fare. Predictably, Cochran criticized the company for exploiting its workers for political purposes and called for a popular boycott of the rail system.[38] Eventually the transit union also endorsed public ownership of the system. The anti-traction ticket, headed by Jones, who embraced Cochran's program, won the mayor's seat and city council. The sides of the dispute fell into a stalemate, with the company charging three cents during hours when workers traveled to and from work and five cents at other times.[39]

When Jones died in 1904, Cochran and other leaders of the progressives formed the Independent Party whose platform provided that party politics should play no role in city government, that fare increases for utilities should be submitted to public vote, that the city could be authorized by referendum to own utilities and that a maximum three-cent fare could be charged for railway transportation.[40] Jones' aide, Brand Whitlock, supported by the *News-Bee,* was elected and twice re-elected mayor, and Independents were elected to various other state, county and city offices. In 1905-11, the stalemate over the franchise continued, with Whitlock insisting on a three-cent fare and public ownership of the railway system.

In the fall of 1911, Whitlock and the company, which offered a fare of six rides for 25 cents and free transfers in a proposed 25-year franchise, were able to produce only a 90-day compromise of a three-cent fare during rush hours and six rides for 25 cents during other hours. H.L. Doherty & Co. of New York bought the Toledo company in January 1912, and the compromise was extended to allow time for the new owners to become familiar with the issues.[41]

Over Cochran's objection, Whitlock refused to run for a fourth term and to endorse Cochran's choice as successor, but all candidates supported a three-cent fare. Before they left office, however, Whitlock and the Independents passed an ordinance requiring the company, after the contract expired at midnight, Friday, March 27, 1914, to operate at the pleasure of the city, pay $250 daily for use of the streets and charge a maximum of three cents per fare with free transfers.[42] The company announced it would not obey the ordinance because it would lose money, began charging as much as five cents a ride and in January 1914 petitioned Judge Killits for an injunction to postpone enforcement of the ordinance. Killits, because of illness, the press of other court business and the volatility of the issue, delayed a decision on the request for an injunction.[43]

As the March 27 deadline neared, the *News-Bee* became increasingly shrill in its crusade for the three-cent fare and public ownership of the transit system and against the franchise renewal. Cochran's reportage and editorials encouraged public defiance of the five-cent fare—even resort to unlawful behavior if necessary, personally attacked the traction company, its officers and opposition political leaders and questioned the role of Killits in the controversy.[44]

At the city council meeting on Monday, March 23, about 400 anti-traction activists overflowed the chambers to oppose an effort by the company and new members of the city council to temper the tension that some feared would lead to violence on Saturday, March 28, if riders refused to pay a five-cent fare. Moderates encouraged activists to wait until the court ruled on pending issues. The *News-Bee* reported on Tuesday that the city solicitor and mayor would "protect" riders who defied paying the fare.[45] The same day the company asked Killits to expedite its request for a hearing on an injunction against the city's enforcement of the ordinance, arguing that violence might result otherwise. In Cleveland on court business, Killits heard the petition over the telephone, and by one-day mail, he scheduled a hearing on a temporary injunction for Thursday, March 26, in Cleveland. Ill, Killits was unable to hold the Thursday hearing and held it on Saturday when he denied the request for the injunction.[46]

In the meantime, on Wednesday, March 25, the *News-Bee,* under a five-column headline, "Car Riders May Ignore Order Barring Lower Fare," reported that members of the Municipal Ownership League, an anti-traction group, would meet at Memorial Hall until midnight Friday, when the current franchise ordinance was to expire, and "then swarm on cars and refuse to pay more than three cents ..., restraining order or no restraining order." The article said union members were being encouraged to participate to intimidate conductors and quoted a city council member who said he would not obey what he considered to be an unfair court order.[47]

The paper also ran a front-page editorial cartoon, "A Desperate Case," later described by Judge Killits as "representing the 'Big Con' as a very corpulent person in bed very ill, his attorneys and Mr. Doherty around him in great anxiety and very much caricatured; one of them explaining that, 'We'd Better Call in Doc Killits.'"[48] In an editorial, Cochran again denounced the "arrogant franchise manipulators" who proposed to impose essentially a tax on people unable to afford a car to extract large profits and pay interest on debts to financiers and dividends to stockholders. The editorial added:

> And now the railway crowd has taken the franchise into the United States court. That means, practically, that the rights of the people of Toledo will be placed in the hands of a two-legged human being who happens to be a federal judge.
>
> Just what kind of judge this particular judge may be, and just what kind of two-legged human being he is, we don't know. But the fact that he is a judge, and a federal judge at that, doesn't make him any more or less of a man than he was before he went on the bench.
>
> So the people's rights here will depend largely upon how his mind works, and whether he thinks in straight lines or around corners. Anyhow, whether he is a great big man or a little bit of a man, he will have a whole lot to say in finally determining the argument between the people of Toledo and the bond and stock gamblers and speculators.[49]

On Thursday, the day Killits had scheduled a hearing on the company's request to enjoin enforcement of the ordinance, the *News-Bee* ran a front-page headline, "Killits Upsets Low-Fare Order," and subheadline, "Holds Schreiber Ordinance Should be Suspended Until Hearing as to its Fairness. Instructs Marshal to have Deputies Ready to

Enforce Ruling." But the accompanying story did not support the headlines, reporting that Killits was in bed in Cleveland with a temperature of 102, had postponed the hearing until Saturday and sent a five-page public statement asking the community to remain calm.[50] In the same issue, Cochran ran four editorials encouraging attendance at the Friday protest meeting, defying the traction company to charge five cents a fare after midnight Friday, assuring readers that police would not be violent against Toledo citizens and urging Killits not to issue the injunction.[51]

On Friday, the day of the rally, the *News-Bee* editorialized that at midnight the traction company would be "a trespasser on many streets of Toledo, and will be on practically all of them by to-morrow morning" and that the company was trying to negate that fact in federal court. But the paper also reported that efforts were made to preserve peace: U.S. marshals were used to help police the system and conductors were instructed to provide free service to riders who insisted on paying only three-cent fares.[52]

For the next two days, 62,000 riders rode free as the court held the hearing on Saturday, and on Monday, Killits denied the company's motion for the injunction against enforcement of the ordinance, ruling the matter belonged in state court, not federal court, if and when the city solicitor sought to enforce the ordinance. He also held that the city could summarily stop the use of the streets by the railway company.[53] But the city instead ordered the police to enforce the three-cent fare and, when the company threatened to close the system, the city required the company to continue to operate. By August, the company said it had provided free rides to 8 million passengers.[54]

Killits held a hearing on August 14, 1914, when the traction company argued that the city policy was unconstitutional as confiscatory of private property; he directed the city to justify the ordinance and granted the city's motion to delay its defense until September 8.[55] The *News-Bee* criticized, with limited accuracy, Killits for placing the burden on the city to prove the ordinance was constitutional rather than on the company to prove an injunction was justified.[56] On September 6, the Toledo chapter of the Socialist Party adopted resolutions declaring that the traction company was a trespasser on city streets and that no judge could declare the city ordinance invalid. The *News-Bee* reported the resolutions on the second day of the two days of court proceedings September 8-9.[57] Under a new conservative administration, the city conceded on September 9 that the ordinance was unreasonable, and Killits announced he would decide the matter in 2-3 days. Finally, he granted the injunction, halting the city from enforcing the ordinance.[58]

But above its story on the second day of hearings, the *News-Bee* ran the headline, "Low Fares Banned by U.S. Judge."[59] On September 10, the Central Labor Union, an organization of representatives of many Toledo labor unions, passed a resolution read by business agent John Quinlivan condemning Killits for requiring the city to carry the burden of proving the ordinance was constitutional and recommending action to have Killits impeached if he ruled the ordinance invalid.[60] Reading about the threatening resolutions in the *News-Bee,* Killits charged Quinlivan with criminal contempt of court and scheduled a summary contempt hearing. The next day, the *News-Bee* ran a special boxed story on the front page, introducing and then running only verbatim Quinlivan's words, including the sentence, "Impeach Killits," that prompted the contempt action.[61]

Over the next few days, the *News-Bee* published stories in which sources questioned whether Killits should hear the contempt case himself, and on September 14 union supporter Paul Dennie wrote a letter to the editor in the *News-Bee* office where it was immediately edited by managing editor Harry J. Howard and published the same day. Dennie's letter asserted that as a matter of ethics, Killits should turn the contempt proceeding over to another judge.[62] On the same page, the paper printed across two columns in bold-face type: "Would it be contempt to remark that it is a peculiar situation where the officer who makes the charge, also considers the evidence, renders the verdict and imposes the sentence." Killits then ordered Howard to show cause why he should not be also held in contempt of court.[63]

On September 17, while the Howard matter was pending, the *News-Bee* ran a front-page editorial in the center two columns in large type challenging Killits' action against the paper. The editorial said the paper resented the interference of the judge in its news and editorial judgment, even if it displeased the judge, denied that the paper intruded on the judicial process and averred that only judges as humans by their actions could cause contempt of court. "We prefer to give every judge free rein to make either a Solomon or monkey of himself, if either be possible," the editorial concluded. "But once the case is decided, we shall say and publish whatever we think best for the public good, whether it pleases or displeases any judge—even if that judge happens to be John M. Killits."[64]

Cochran was in the courthouse at about 1 p.m., after the first edition of the *News-Bee* was distributed at noon, and was served with a contempt citation for the editorial. Nevertheless, the editorial ran in the other four editions that day.[65]

Killits finally cited Cochran, Howard and the *News-Bee* for three counts of contempt of court for the paper's coverage of and opinions on the railway court proceedings, including the contempt action against Quinlivan. Killits charged that the editors and paper tried to influence Killits' decisions by suggesting and encouraging public resistance to a decision contrary to the paper's wishes. Killits claimed the *News-Bee* violently attacked parties adverse to its position, questioned the integrity of the judge by suggesting he was unduly influenced by the supporters of the traction company, planned a popular uprising against the traction company without respect for any decision of the court, misrepresented court decisions—especially in headlines—and "featured attacks on the court by local organizations while the case was pending." The paper "intended to embarrass the court in its consideration of the respective causes, by impugning the motives of the judge thereof and by attempting to belittle him in public estimation."[66]

Killits held hearings in September on the contempt citations against Cochran and the *News-Bee*. Testifying on September 29, Cochran said that he never intended to encourage readers to disobey any court orders, perceived no imminent violence and merely wanted to keep readers informed about the issues and events in the traction case.[67] Adopting a conciliatory tone in his testimony, Cochran said:

> I did not suppress the publications regarding those meetings, because if there was anything like that [violence] in anyone's mind, the very best way in the world to encourage it would be to suppress it. Publicity will choke off, quicker than anything I know of, any move that ought not to go through. ... I print a lot of things I don't believe in. I should not sit back there and decide how much they [readers] are entitled to have. I believe there is an implied contract between a publisher and the public. When they give a cent for the paper, his contract is to give them the news. I want to fairly give them the news, just as fairly as my mind permits me to do it. The reason I did not suppress it was because it was news, information that the public wanted to know. It has not been the policy of the News-Bee at any stage of the game to seek to intimidate any court or try to influence his action.[68]

Cochran claimed he bore no malice toward Killits, partly because he knew very little about the judge. Cochran said he worried that the city attorney's office was outmatched by the traction company's high-priced and large legal team, and that would lead any judge to rule for the seemingly superior arguments, not necessary for the just side.[69]

Cochran defended himself against the judge's accusations of the newspaper's excessively large headlines, other sensational characteristics of the coverage and oversimplified explanations of complex legal questions in the proceedings. Cochran said that if he were writing for lawyers, he would have

> couched it in very nice, lady-like language, but I was trying to talk to a lot of human beings and to make them understand what I was driving at and I wanted to get the punch in there so that it would get to them and make them think, and I have been accustomed to writing to the people of Toledo for a good many years and they have come to understand my language. ... [I] generally say what I mean. I think they understood what I meant there.[70]

Cochran testified that he took offense at the judge's contempt citations, resulting in the editorial in which he assured readers that no matter what anyone, including Killits, did with respect to the traction controversy, including any attempts to punish the paper, the *News-*

Bee's position would not change. "I didn't want them to be afraid of a judge, or of a court," Cochran said. Killits interjected: "Just a plain, simple sworn officer of the law, that is all." Cochran responded:

> Why certainly. I want to go further than that. ... [It is] always our policy not to censor courts or influence them. ... [N]or are we going to let any judge edit the News-Bee or map out its editorial policy or do anything, right of wrong, to prevent our standing by the people of Toledo, as we started eleven years ago and will continue to the finish.[71]

Judge Killits' Decision

In a 56-page opinion issued January 23, 1915, Killits carefully detailed the facts and the law of the case. He found the paper and Cochran guilty of three counts of interference with the administration of justice: articles and editorials attempting directly to influence the parties and judge in the traction case, attempting to resist the court's contempt citation against Socialist John Quinlivan and attempting to resist the court's contempt citation against Howard.[72]

Killits contended that the *News-Bee* "calculated and intended to produce":

> First, an influence on the court's consideration of the pending traction case, by attempting an impression that a decision contrary to the wishes of the paper would not only be very unpopular in the community but likely to be met with active opposition; and secondly, an encouragement to popular resistance to any order the court might make following such unpopular decision. [Third,] ... these publications intended to embarrass the court in its consideration of the respective causes, by impugning the motives of the judge thereof and by attempting to belittle him in public estimation.[73]

Killits castigated the newspaper for threatening "violent acts" against the parties to the traction case, suggesting the judge was being influenced by factors other than those required by law, encouraging through sensationalism a "popular uprising" against the traction company regardless of the court's decision, misrepresenting the developments in the case and "'featuring' attacks on the court from local organizations while the case was pending."[74]

Although the opinion included descriptions of dozens of *News-Bee* publications, Killits said he omitted the presentation of many others over six months preceding the contempt citations to give the newspaper "the benefit of the doubt." Further, he said, his opinion was incapable of capturing the sensationalistic presentation of the material.[75] Nevertheless, this case, according to Killits, was unprecedented in the annals of contempt cases for the amount and offensiveness of the contemptuous attacks on a court. No other court in American history has been subjected to such a "prolonged bombardment," and the target of such "cold-blooded," "aggravated" and "reprehensible" "prevarications," "slurs" and "outlaw methods."[76]

Killits stated in the opinion that he was not completely convinced, given the attacks on him individually and despite Cochran's denials, that the newspaper had no personal animosity toward him as a judge, but he had none toward the newspaper or editor. Nevertheless, Killits' opinion is laced with sharp dicta vilifying the newspaper and Cochran that easily exceeded any of the paper's alleged denigration of Killits. He accused them of a "commercial, not unselfish and patriotic" effort to "increase circulation ... and catch more pennies" through "publication of manifest untruths ... equivocations and, at times, downright prevarications ... willfully to foster local prejudices." They used "lurid rhetoric and violent invective" to obscure and misrepresent the presentation of facts that would permit proper democratic and legal deliberations over the traction controversy in order to protect the "News-Bee's city hall."[77] He added:

> The intelligence of those connected with the paper is too obvious to permit confidence that they entertain a genuine feeling that any interest the people had in the solution of the question justified editorial conduct which had no other direction than to make it less and less easy for the people to see clearly just what their fair and reasonable interest was.[78]

Killits emphasized that his decision did not implicate issues of freedom of the press and that suggestions to the contrary by the "shrewd" defendants were merely ploys to gain sympathy. "Emphatically, a free press is an indispensable asset to liberty; but a licentious, unscrupulous press is a liability," Killits, citing Thomas Jefferson, noted. "An unreliable newspaper is no friend of the people." Because the newspaper was free to say anything it wished, its freedom was not abridged, but like any other private entity, a newspaper is responsible for the evil it creates.[79]

Responding to arguments by its lawyers that the newspaper's actions caused no actual harms, such as the feared violent riots, Killits maintained that it was nevertheless the intention of the *News-Bee* to cause those harms and "[a]ttempts to commit crimes are themselves crimes." Further, the newspaper's behavior did have effects, such as the judge's decision to delay at least one of his decisions in light of the atmosphere created by the newspaper and the traction company's decisions, out of fear of violence, not to charge any fares, resulting in considerable financial loss to the company.[80] He said: "The gravity of the offense is certain; there can be no graver public crime than to attempt, in the manner here, to extort from a court a particular decision, or to work to poison the minds of citizens against the only organization which society has yet been able to devise for the settlement of its controversies."[81]

As elaborate as Killits' opinion was in the review of the facts in the case, he was exhaustive in his examination of the law as it should be applied to those facts. Killits found that courts enjoyed an inherent right summarily to punish for contempt of court and that congressional legislation[82] fully justified his decision.[83] Killits cited seven U.S. Supreme Court precedents in support of either the inherent power assumed by British and then early American courts or a congressionally established right through construction of legislation enacted in 1789 and 1831.[84] He dissected each precedent in turn and patiently reviewed at least as many cases in states that had no legislation, had legislation like the federal legislation or had legislation unlike the federal legislation, concluding that almost all cases squared with his decision in the present case and distinguished to his satisfaction the exceptions.[85] Among the key legal issues were whether his contempt action was a violation of the *News-Bee*'s press freedom, whether truth of the criticism was a sufficient defense in a contempt prosecution, whether the court had power to hold contemptuous criticism by a non-party outside of the courtroom or courthouse and whether summary contempt review, that is, adjudication of the case by the same judge who issued the citation, was legal.

Killits used a 1907 U.S. Supreme Court decision[86] concerning a similar case to address several of these issues. With only Justices John Harlan and David J. Brewer dissenting,[87] the Supreme Court ruled in *Patterson v. Colorado* that the Court had no federal question to address because the First and Fourteenth Amendments did not prohibit the Colorado Supreme Court from summarily punishing what the state court saw as interference with the administration of justice in a newspaper's criticism of the court's decisions. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., writing the majority opinion, defined free speech as only preventing government from censoring, not from subsequently punishing the press for wrongs, declined to apply the First Amendment against the states through the due process of law clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and ruled that truth was not a defense in a contempt proceeding and that a court's summary trial did not violate the Constitution.[88] Citing *Patterson*, Killits said that if the *News-Bee*'s arguments that its free press rights were violated were correct, they would produce "a startlingly absurd result."[89]

Trickier was Killits' interpretation of the 1831 Act by Congress which he admitted was intended to limit the power of summary contempt in federal courts. The Act was a product of an attempt to convict in the Senate a federal judge who was impeached in the House for summarily and severely sanctioning a lawyer for abusing legal processes. The scholarly consensus tends to defend the judge as principled in his treatment of a particularly loathsome lawyer, but the judge ran afoul of the lawyer's supporters in Congress; and the fact that the judge acted from a state considerably distant from the lawyer's state became a focus by Congress on the reach of the federal contempt power.[90] Section 2 of the Act of

1831 specifically provided: "The said courts shall have power ... to punish ... contempts of their authority; Provided, that such power ... shall not be construed to extend to any cases except the misbehavior of any person in their presence, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice ... ."

Judicial review of especially the phrase, "so near thereto," became crucial to whether judges such as Killits could punish criticism outside of the immediate physical vicinity of the courtroom or courthouse. Although, given its inspiration, Congress apparently meant to limit the geography of the power, many courts, repeatedly cited by Killits, construed the phrase to embrace distant criticism that nevertheless directly attempted to influence a pending decision of a court.[91]

Killits, stressing their profitable business and lack of remorse, found the journalists and paper guilty on all three counts of criminal contempt and fined the Toledo Newspaper Co. $7,500 plus court costs, fined Cochran $200 and ordered Cochran jailed until he paid the fine but suspended the jailing until April 15 to give the defendants the opportunity to appeal the decision.[92]

Furious, Cochran resolved to fight Killits' decision throughout the court system. "This isn't an attack on the News-Bee, or the Scripps papers alone," he wrote Dayton publisher James M. Cox. "It is the most dangerous attempt to abridge freedom of speech and the press I ever heard of. It is an attack on YOUR papers and all papers."[93] "I think he [Killits] would like to compromise with an apology from use [sic] now, but I have told the lawyers, no compromise, no apology, but a fight to a ... finish," Cochran wrote a friend.[94]

On appeal, a unanimous panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in 1916 upheld Killits' decision in every respect.[95] The appeals court's only negative comment was relatively minor. Although the appeals court agreed that Killits was easily within his right to conduct the contempt proceedings himself, "we think it by far the better policy to call in another judge; and the federal system provides special facility for doing so." The appeals court said: "[I]t is of greatest importance that contempt proceedings be put, as far as possible beyond the reach of even unjust adverse criticism," given the potential for conflict of interest.[96] This same criticism published in the *News-Bee* was deemed by Killits to be contemptuous.

The Supreme Court Decision

The promotion by President William Howard Taft in 1910 of Associate Justice Edward Douglass White to succeed Melville Fuller as Chief Justice of the United States "marked a significant divide in the membership of the Supreme Court."[97] In 1909-12, Taft also named five associate justices: Charles Evans Hughes, Joseph R. Lamar, Horace H. Lurton, Mahlon Pitney and Willis Van Devanter. In 1914-16, Woodrow Wilson chose Louis D. Brandeis, James C. McReynolds and John H. Clarke. By 1918, only Holmes, White, William R. Day and Joseph McKenna remained from the *Patterson* Court. The respected *News-Bee* attorneys, former City Solicitor Charles S. Northrup of Toledo and former U.S. Solicitor General Lawrence Maxwell and Jay W. Curts of Cincinnati, may have sensed some hope, given the known or even unknown predilections of most of the justices.

Killits' Ohio acquaintances and both former federal judges in the Northern District of Ohio, Clarke and Day, whose son was appointed by Killits to represent the United States throughout the litigation, abstained from participating in the case. During his tenure, White tended to provide the philosophical leadership for the justices,[98] except for Holmes and Brandeis, who developed their reputation during this period as the "Great Dissenters." White is remembered by students of constitutional history for his "ambiguous," "conservative," "unpredictable," "practical," "unscholarly" and "jagged" approaches to problems presented in cases such as this one.[99]

During two days of oral arguments March 7-8, 1918, at the height of World War I, the *News-Bee* attorneys porposed that the Act of 1831 was intended either completely to immunize newspapers from summary contempt citations or, unlike in the case at hand, to limit the power only when such publications directly affected a court decision in the physical presence of the courtroom. Further, the Act required the government to show that the alleged contemptuous behavior has actually had an impact on the administration of justice, which was not shown in this case. The attorneys also argued that the *Patterson* precedent established only that the Constitution did not apply to states courts—leaving the question open for federal courts, that Killits' summary proceeding was unnecessary and should have been a jury trial presided over by another judge and that the convictions were violations of the defendants' press freedom rights.[100]

The government attorneys answered that "Parties have a constitutional right to have their causes tried fairly by an impartial court uninfluenced by newspaper dictation or popular clamor," that *Patterson* supported the government's position and that the government need not show that behavior actually injures a court—only that "it was of a character calculated to produce such effects."[101] The 1831 Act, the government argued, did not immunize newspapers from summary contempt actions and is consistent with an uninterrupted recognition that courts must decisively protect the due administration of justice.[102]

On June 3, the Supreme Court, in a 5-4 vote, shocked the nation by ruling the Child Labor Act of 1916 to be unconstitutional.[103] Overshadowed by that decision, on June 10, 1918, the last day of the 1917 term, the Court announced its decision in the Toledo case. White wrote the opinion for a 5-2 majority upholding the lower courts. The Court arrived at the same conclusion, but interpreted the facts in the case more charitably than Killits had:

> [T]he agitation over the questions ... involved had unremittingly continued and was beyond doubt fanned by continuous publications on the subject in the stated newspaper into a more exaggerated—not to use a stronger word—and vociferous expression which ... [impeded] the relative rights of the city and the corporation, but also, at least by indirection, the duty and power of the court and its right to afford any relief in the matters before it.[104]

The Court agreed that the newspaper's "ridicule" and "vituperation" "manifestly intended to interfere with and obstruct the court in the discharge of its duty in a matter pending before it" through exciting public resistance to any court decision by generating "odium and hatred" toward the judge.[105] The courts have "the sacred obligation ... to preserve their right to discharge their duties free from unlawful and unworthy influences and," the majority opinion continued, "in doing so, if need be, to clear from the pathway leading to the performance of this great duty all unwarranted attempts to pervert, obstruct or distort judgment."[106]

The Court ruled that Killits acted well within the limits of the Act of 1831 (which "conferred no power not already granted and imposed no limitations not already existing"),[107] that the newspaper's press freedom rights were not violated and that evidence of actual obstruction of justice was not necessary to justify summary contempt proceedings. The Court adopted the view of the lower courts that the phrase "so near thereto" in the 1831 Act did not refer only to physical proximity to the court. "The test ... is the character of the act done and its direct tendency to prevent and obstruct the discharge of judicial duty."[108]

The Court showed even less patience for the First Amendment arguments, maintaining that freedom of the press is not the "freedom to do wrong with impunity" or "the right to frustrate and defeat the discharge of those governmental duties upon the performance of which the freedom of all, including that of the press, depends." The press has the right "to state public things and discuss them," but it is not an absolute right and does not include "the right virtually to destroy ... free and constitutional institutions."[109]

Finally, the Court concluded that a finding of contempt does not depend on whether there is actual obstruction of the administration of justice. Although it was clear Killits was undeterred by the newspaper, "the influence upon the mind of the particular judge" is not "the criterion but the reasonable tendency of the acts done to influence or bring about the baleful result is the test." Clearly, the "reasonable tendency" of the newspaper coverage was to disrupt the judicial process.[110]

Joined by Brandeis, Holmes, the author of the *Patterson* majority opinion, dissented. Holmes was troubled by the summary contempt action, given the six months of assault Killits admitted he suffered. He wrote:

> When it is considered how contrary it is to our practice and ways of thinking for the same person to be accuser and sole judge in a matter which, if he be sensitive, may involve strong personal feeling, I should expect the power to be limited by the necessities of the case "to insure order and decorum in their presence."[111]

Holmes maintained that the statutory phrase, "so near thereto" meant that the offending behavior must be within physical proximity of the courtroom, that the alleged obstruction requires "more than adverse comment or disrespect" and that the government carries the burden of showing how the obstruction actually interfered with the administration of justice, not just that there was a "reasonable tendency" toward obstruction.[112]

Even though he never invoked the concept of press freedom, Holmes' discussion of the case must have provided some solace for the petitioners. He wrote that a "judge ... is expected to be a man of ordinary firmness of character, and I find it impossible to believe that such a judge could have found in anything that was printed even a tendency to prevent his performing his sworn duty." Holmes described the publications at issue to be nothing more than reporting on "a widespread public intent" to protest the traction company's fares and

> gave one or two premature but ultimately correct intimations of what the judge was going to do, made one mistaken statement of a ruling which it criticised indirectly, uttered a few expressions that implied the judge did not have the last word and that no doubt contained innuendoes not flattering to his personality.[113]

"I cannot find in all this or in the evidence in the case anything that would have affected a mind of reasonable fortitude," Holmes stated, "and still less can I find there anything that obstructed the administration of justice in any sense that I possibly can give to those words."[114]

Epilogue

In 1917, Cochran and three others were appointed by Toledo's mayor to an ad hoc committee to propose how to resolve the street railway dilemma. The group's plan to sell the lines through public bonds to a new company and to set a five-cent fare with free transfers was never forwarded to the city council. The battle continued until 1921.[115]

Although Cochran devoted most of his journalistic career to Toledo, he had, by the time of the Supreme Court decision, become involved in a number of other activities mostly at the instigation of E.W. Scripps, the erratic press tycoon who retired in 1908 from active management of his vast media holdings to his Miramar ranch in southern California. Cochran, named editor (and essentially publisher) of the *Day Book*, Scripps' experiment in adless daily newspaper publishing in Chicago in 1912-17, nevertheless frequently commuted to Toledo to manage the *News-Bee* and hired his children to work in both places.

In addition, Cochran traveled regularly to Miramar to confer not only about the *Day Book* but also to drink, ride horses and otherwise act as a Scripps' crony.[116] Cochran, who wrote in 1933 an uncritical biography of Scripps,[117] was often sent as an emissary to present Scripps' ideas to national politicians, other dignitaries and business associates, including Scripps' sons, who resented their retired father's interference in their inherited business, and apparently came to see Cochran as an irritant as he sided with Robert Scripps against board chairman James Scripps in the brothers' battle for control of the Scripps properties.[118]

Scripps and Cochran closed the unprofitable *Day Book* in 1917 and moved to Washington, D.C., to help with the World War I effort. As a direct result of the expensive—it cost at last $8,000 in legal fees[119]—Supreme Court case, Cochran in 1918-22 was bought and edged out of management of the *News-Bee* whose power and popularity waned with the progressive movement,[120] and he was chosen in 1918 a member of the Scripps editorial board, in 1922 a national correspondent for Scripps-Howard (for whom he covered, among other major stories, the 1925 Scopes "monkey" trial) and after Scripps died in 1926, the editor of a newsletter for company executives.[121] The *News-Bee* was sold to the *Blade* for $780,000 in 1938 and closed.[122] At the age of 77, he died of a stroke after a lingering illness April 13, 1941, 36 hours after his wife, Nettie, died of a stroke, both in their apartment in the Commodore Perry Hotel in New York. In a prominent obituary, the *New York Times* called him a "forceful crusader against injustice and an incisive editorial writer."[123]

Throughout his life, Cochran remained bitter about the contempt case, which then-Harvard law professor Felix Frankfurter, whose masterpiece on contempt law was one of the most influential law review articles in history,[124] called "a disastrous ... perversion of law and ... disregard of liberty."[125] Cochran said that except for Holmes, Brandeis and Clarke, "there isn't a man on the Supreme Court bench that knows what either democracy or justice means."[126] In 1919-20, during the Red Scare, Killits made a series of decisions against striking workers at the Willys-Overland Auto plant, including ordering the confiscation of issues of the union's *New Voice* newspaper and holding five of its staff members in contempt for criticizing him. Killits sentenced one of the staff members to 11 months in the workhouse. Labor leaders were disappointed as the chastened *News-Bee* failed to criticize Killits.[127] But the *News-Bee* published a scathing exposé on Killits in 1920, prompting him to ask for $200,000 in a libel suit against the newspaper.[128] After Cochran left the *News-Bee*, he encouraged the editors to investigate Killits on several occasions. "Killits has set the example of using his power and prestige as federal judge to set himself up as a local tyrant, even in municipal affairs," Cochran complained to a colleague.[129] "And he has gone farther than any judge in the country in shackling a free press—and got away with it in the U.S. Supreme Court."[130]

A civic activist, Killits edited and wrote parts of a three-volume history of Toledo, remaining fairly objective in his descriptions of Cochran and the *News-Bee*, the traction controversy and the contempt case.[131] Killits was mentioned as a possible U.S. Supreme Court nominee in 1922, and he retired in 1928.[132] Although he denied hating Killits, Cochran urged the *News-Bee* editor in 1933 to investigate when Killits asked for relief from a $100,000 debt to a Toledo bank that crashed. Cochran suggested that Killits had been allowed to borrow the money from the bank because its directors included businessmen who also had interests in the traction company. "People will wonder how Killits on a salary of $10,000 (and it was $6,000 when he first went on the bench) built up a credit that enabled him to borrow $100,000."[133] Cochran offered the *News-Bee* another embarrassing story on Killits in 1934.[134] Killits died at age 80 on September 13, 1938.[135]

In a series of separate, usually dissenting, opinions in cases beginning in 1919, Justices Holmes and Brandeis developed the famous "clear and present danger" doctrine to offer fuller constitutional protection for freedom of expression.[136] Reversing what it declined to do in *Patterson*, the Court in 1925 "nationalized" the federal right of freedom of speech, making it enforceable against the states as well as the federal government;[137] and in 1931, the Court did the same for freedom of the press and established the doctrine of "no prior restraint" as a bedrock principle of First Amendment law.[138] As Franklin Roosevelt's liberal appointees came to dominate Court membership to sustain New Deal legislation, they also began a long record of advancing civil rights and liberties generally, including First Amendment rights.

Newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s apparently were not intimidated by the Toledo decision in their coverage of courts; and courts did not use the case to institute a "reign of terror" against the press.[139] By 1939, a prominent newspaper lawyer felt comfortable advising his clients that, in light of the "comparatively few recent decisions on this subject by American appellate courts," the press should feel safe in aggressively covering the courts and that the "American public and even American courts, have, in practice, if not in theory, more or less acquiesced in this voluntary assumption of responsibility by the press" to guard against judicial abuses.[140]

Several disputes in the 1940s, however, reintroduced the question, and the Supreme Court reacted as though its members were Harlan, Holmes, Brandeis, Cochran and his lawyers, arguing that the imperative of press freedom required that criticism of courts could be punished as contempt only if it, in the immediate proximity of the courtroom, resulted in a "clear and present" danger to the administration of justice.[141] The Supreme Court held hearings for two of the cases a month before Cochran died, and then announced that the Toledo decision was overturned three days after he died. In *Nye v. United States*, the Court said that White's majority opinion represented a "plain misreading" of the Act of 1831.[142] In a 1946 concurring opinion, Justice Frank Murphy wrote: Freedom of the press "covers something more than the right to approve or condone insofar as the judiciary and judicial process are concerned. It also includes the right to criticize and disparage, even though the terms be vitriolic, scurrilous or erroneous."[143] Under 18 U.S.C. § 401, courts today may punish published contempts only when they pose a "clear and present danger" to the administration of justice and when they are in the "vicinity of the courts."[144]

Conclusion

Not until after the turn of the 20th century did the Supreme Court make its first substantive interpretation of the First Amendment provisions for speech and press freedom. Asked to protect newspapers in their criticism of judges as government officials, the Court in 1918 refused by evading the question in sustaining self-serving judicial tradition and construing legislation to license, rather than limit, jurists' punishment of their critics. It was not until almost mid-century that the Court even recognized that this was a First Amendment problem. In the meantime, journalists such as Cochran in their coverage of courts practiced what they considered to be their constitutional mission, even at personal and organizational sacrifice before the judicial altar. Their work eventually, however, eroded this line of seditious libel law, consistent with Levy's revised thesis.

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[1] This is the "major conclusion" of both of Levy's books on the subject. Legacy of Suppression (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960); Emergence of a Free Press (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. vii.

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[2] This is the most basic of Levy's definitions of seditious libel. For other definitions, see Emergence of a Free Press, pp. 7-8.

[3] N.Y. Times Co. v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254, 273 (1964).

[4] Levy, Emergence of a Free Press, pp. 309-49.

[5] Ibid., pp. vii-xix.

[6] The assumption is that seditious libel law was eliminated in the Sullivan case, even though no such law, per se, was before the Supreme Court. The Court nevertheless equated seditious libel law with the evil of permitting government officials to use defamation law and civil courts to punish in the form of crippling damage awards the criticism of the officials' conduct. N.Y. Times v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 273. This mandates that a court factor press freedom into an otherwise common-law libel action by requiring that, in order to succeed, a public official libel plaintiff demonstrate actual malice by the defendant. Ibid., pp. 279-80. Three of the justices in the Sullivan case, however, asserted that the actual malice test was insufficient constitutional protection for government critics. Justice Black argued that the First Amendment "should completely prohibit a State from exercising such a power. ... An unconditional right to say what one pleases about public affairs is what I consider to be the minimum guarantee of the First Amendment." Ibid., pp. 293, 297. Likewise, Justice Goldberg, joined by Justice Douglas, wrote that "the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution afford to the citizen and to the press an absolute, unconditional privilege to criticize official conduct ... ." Ibid. at 298.

[7] John D. Stevens, Shaping the First Amendment: The Development of Free Expression (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1982).

[8] Nat Hentoff, The First Freedom: The Tumultuous History of Free Speech in America (New York: Delacorte Press, 1980).

[9] This research attempts to make a modest contribution to that genre of legal-historical scholarship devoted to case biographies, perhaps the most famous of which is Anthony Lewis' story of Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335 (1963): Gideon's Trumpet (New York: Random House, 1964). One book reviewer described the method as

> a sketch of the development of the law before the landmark decision, an account of how the particular dispute arose (including portraits of some of the key actors), the legal arguments and strategies developed by the parties, the actions taken by lower courts, the decision and opinion of the Supreme Court, and finally some assessment of the case's significance.

Philip. A Dynia, Book review of The Kingfish and the Constitution, American Politics, June 1997, p. 450. There is a large number of book-length treatments of important cases in freedom of expression, including Lewis' Make No Law: The Sullivan Case and the First Amendment (New York: Random House 1991); Fred W. Friendly, Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press (New York: Random House, 1981); Richard Polenberg, Fighting Faiths: The Abrams Case, the Supreme Court, and Free Speech (New York: Penguin, 1987); Renata Adler, Reckless Disregard: Westmoreland v. CBS et al., Sharon v. Time (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986); Rodney A. Smolla, Jerry Falwell v. Larry Flynt: The First Amendment on Trial (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); Thomas Littlewood, Coals of Fire: The Alton Telegraph Case (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988); David Rudenstine, The Day the Presses Stopped: A History of the Pentagon Papers Case (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1996).

[10] Another version, emphasizing the legal details, of this case history is in Jean F. Kohl, "The Killits-Cochran Controversy (Part I)," Northwest Ohio Quarterly 33(3) (Summer 1961):110-31; Jean F. Kohl, "The Killits-Cochran Controversy (Part II)," Northwest Ohio Quarterly 33(4) (Autumn 1961):160-76.

[11] Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989); Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916 (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967); William A. Link and Arthur S. Link, American Epoch: A History of the United States Since 1900: War, Reform, and Society 1900-1945, 7th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1993); William L. O'Neil, The Progressive Years: America Comes of Age (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1975); Arnold S. Rice and John A. Krout, United States History from 1865, 20th ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1977).

[12] John M. Killits, ed., Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio 1623-1923, 3 vols. (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1923).

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[13] Arthur S. Link and William P. Catton, American Epoch: A History of the United States Since 1900, 4th ed., 3 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 1:3.

[14] Paul Kleppner, The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900 (New York: Free Press, 1970); George W. Knepper, Ohio and Its People (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989), pp. 313-47; Zane L. Miller, Boss Cox's Cincinnati: Urban Politics in the Progressive Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Hoyt Landon Warner, Progressivism in Ohio, 1897-1917 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964).

[15] Knepper, Ohio and Its People, pp. 327-33.

[16] "Negley Cochran, Editor, Follows Wife in Death" Toledo News-Bee, 14 April 1941, p. 1. This section and subsequent sections are also partly based on a untitled rough draft (with no numbered pages) of what appears to be the start of an autobiography, hereinafter referred to as Cochran autobiography, in Cochran's papers at the Toledo Pubic Library. The Cochran papers, at least at the time of this research, were unorganized, so no further identification of the location of the materials is possible. All letters cited in this research, unless otherwise noted, are in the Cochran collection.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Milton McRae, Forty Years in Newspaperdom: The Autobiography of a Newspaper Man (New York: Brentano's, 1924), p. 208; Negley Cochran to Marie Cochran Hartaugh, 28 September 1938, Cochran papers.

[19] Scripps v. Scripps, docket No. 455 (U.S. District Court, Southern District of Ohio, 1921), C.F. Mosher to James G. Scripps, Exhibit No. 23, 23 April 1912, pp. 119-27. Cochran apparently saved a large collection of materials concerning litigation in Cincinnati, headquarters for the Scripps organization, between Josephine S. Scripps, executor of the James G. Scripps estate, and Robert P. Scripps, executor of the E.W. Scripps estate. The brothers' feud lasted past James Scripps' death. These materials, referred to hereinafter as Scripps v. Scripps, are in the Cochran papers in Toledo.

[20] Grove Patterson, I Like People: The Autobiography of Grove Patterson, Editor-in-Chief of *The Toledo Blade* (New York: Random House, 1954), p. 88.

[21] Warner, Progressivism in Ohio, p. 13.

[22] Cochran, "Looking Back," News-Bee, 12 March 1935, p. 7.

[23] Cochran autobiography, pp. 14-15; John M. Killits, ed., Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio 1623-1923, 3 vols. (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1923), 3:501

[24] Cochran autobiography, p. 15; Killits, Toledo and Lucas County, 3:501; Warner, Progressivism in Ohio, pp. 25, 37-38, 40, 51. For examples, see stories in the Bee, 16-19 July 1899, 20-24 August 1899, 4 October 1899.

[25] Killits, Toledo and Lucas County, 3:500-01; Warner, Progressivism in Ohio, pp. 33-35, 106; Brand Whitlock, Forty Years of It (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1914), pp. 135-36.

[26] Warner, Progressivism in Ohio, pp. 23-24.

[27] Robert M. LaFollette, Introduction, in Gilbert E. Roe, Our Judicial Oligarchy (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1912), pp. v-vi. See also Henry George Jr., Menace of Privilege: A Study of the Dangers to the Republic from the Existence of a Favored Class (New York: Macmillan Co., 1906), pp. 175-86.

[28] George Irving Reed, Bench and Bar of Ohio (Chicago: Century Publishing Co., 1897), pp. 186-88.

[29] William B. Neff, Bench and Bar of Northern Ohio (Cleveland, Ohio: Historical Publishing Co., 1921), pp. 496-97.

[30] Warner, Progressivism in America, p. 378.

[31] Walter Nelles and Carl Weiss King, "Contempt by Publication in the United States," Columbia Law Review 28(5) (May 1928), p. 540, fn. 63.

[32] David Nord, Newspapers and New Politics: Midwestern Municipal Reform, 1890-1900 (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1981).

[33] Randolph C. Downes, "The Rapid Transit and Electric Power Problems in Toledo in the 1890's," Northwest Ohio Quarterly 26(1) (Winter 1954):173, 175, 177.

[34] Toledo Bee, 15 December 1893, p. 1.

[35] Downes, "Rapid Transit," p. 182.

[36] Ibid., p. 184.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Bee, 10 January 1897, p. 1.

[39] Downes, "Rapid Transit," pp. 187-88.

[40] John M. Harrison, The Blade of Toledo: The First One Hundred Fifty Years (Toledo: Toledo Blade Co., 1985), p. 157.

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[41] Ibid., p. 168.
[42] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 458, 462 (N.D. Ohio 1915).
[43] Ibid., p. 463.
[44] Ibid., pp. 462-63
[45] "Big Con Fights Three-Cent Fare in Federal Court," News-Bee, 24 March 1914, p. 1.
[46] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 464.
[47] "Car Riders May Ignore Order Barring Lower Fare," News-Bee, 25 March 1914, p. 1.
[48] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 464.
[49] "Municipal Ownership the Only Way to Street Railway Peace," News-Bee, 25 March 1914, p. 1.
[50] "Killits Upsets Low-Fare Order," News-Bee, 26 March 1914, p. 1.
[51] Editorials, News-Bee, 26 March 1914, p. 6.
[52] "The Big Con's Attitude the Same Old Defiance of the People," News-Bee, 27 March 1914, p. 6.
[53] "Thousands Riding Free; Killits Hears Big Con Plea," News-Bee, 28 March 1914, p. 1; United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 468.
[54] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 469.
[55] Ibid.
[56] "Test of Schreiber Ordinance in U.S. Court Sept. 8: Killits Puts Burden on City," News-Bee, 14 August 1914, p. 1.
[57] "Socialists Call Big Con Trespasser," News-Bee, 9 September 1914, p. 1.
[58] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 470.
[59] "Low Fares Banned by U.S. Judge," News-Bee, 10 September 1914, p. 1.
[60] "Judge Killits is Criticized in Central Labor Union Meeting," News-Bee, 11 September 1914, p. 1.
[61] "Killits Accuses John Quinlivan of Contempt: Basis of Charge Against Union Leader," News-Bee, 12 September 1914, p. 1.
[62] Paul G. Dennie, "The Quinlivan Case" (letter to the editor), News-Bee, 12 September 1914, p. 6.
[63] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 47.
[64] "The News-Bee and Judge Killits," News-Bee, 17 September 1914, p. 1.
[65] "News-Bee Editor is Called into Court on Contempt Charges," Toledo Times, 16 September 1914, p. 1; United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 472.
[66] Ibid., pp. 460-61.
[67] Transcript of Record, Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States, Criminal Docket No. 1535, 29 September 1914, Testimony of Negley D. Cochran, p. 215.
[68] Ibid., pp. 216-17.
[69] Ibid., p. 219.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., pp. 219-20.
[72] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 460.
[73] Ibid., pp. 460-61.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., pp. 460, 503-04.
[76] Ibid., p. 513.
[77] Ibid., pp. 506-07, 511.
[78] Ibid., p. 507.
[79] Ibid., pp. 507-08.
[80] Ibid., p. 509.
[81] Ibid., p. 514.
[82] Judiciary Act of 1789; Act of March 2, 1831, 21st Cong., 2nd sess., 4 Stat. 487 (1831).
[83] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 472-92.
[84] Ibid., p. 473.
[85] Ibid., pp. 473-92.
[86] Patterson v. Colorado, 205 U.S. 454 (1907).
[87] Harlan, as was his tendency, would have applied the First Amendment against the states through the Fourteenth Amendment and found the contempt citation unconstitutional. "In my judgment the action of the court below was in violation of the rights of free speech and a free press as guaranteed by the Constitution." Ibid., p. 465. Brewer dissented on procedural grounds, not addressing the merits of the case. Ibid. pp. 465-66.
[88] Ibid., pp. 460-63.

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[89] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 474.

[90] John Charles Fox, The History of Contempt of Court (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1927), pp. 212-13; William H. Marnell, The Right to Know: Media and the Common Good (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), pp. 70-71; Felix Frankfurter and James M. Landis, "Power of Congress Over Procedure in Criminal Contempts in 'Inferior' Federal Courts—A Study in Separation of Powers," Harvard Law Review 37(8) (June 1924), pp. 1029-38; Nelles and King, "Contempt by Publication in the United States," pp. 540-43.

[91] United States v. Toledo Newspaper Co., 220 F. 473, 477-88.

[92] Ibid., pp. 514-15.

[93] Cochran to James M. Cox, 28 January 1914.

[94] Cochran to B.H. Canfield, 2 July 1914.

[95] Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States, 237 F. 986 (6th Cir. 1916).

[96] Ibid., p. 988.

[97] David P. Currie, "The Constitution and the Supreme Court: 1910-1921," Duke Law Journal (1985), p. 1111.

[98] Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer, Edward Douglass White, Chief Justice of the U.S. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943), pp. 196-98.

[99] James F. Watts, Jr., "Edward Douglass White," in Leon Friedman and Fred L. Israel, eds., The Justices of the United States Supreme Court 1789-1969: Their Lives and Major Opinions, 3 vols. (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1969), 3:1643-45.

[100] Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States, 247 U.S. 402, 403-06 (1918) (brief for the petitioners).

[101] Ibid., p. 407 (brief for the respondent).

[102] Ibid., pp. 408-09.

[103] Hammer v. Dagenhart, 247 U.S. 251 (1918).

[104] Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States, pp. 412-13.

[105] Ibid., p. 414.

[106] Ibid., p. 416.

[107] Ibid., p. 418.

[108] Ibid., p. 419.

[109] Ibid., pp. 419-20.

[110] Ibid., p. 421.

[111] Ibid., p. 423 (quoting Ex parte Robinson, 86 U.S. 505, 505 (1874)).

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid., p. 424.

[114] Ibid. Holmes wrote a friend that reading White's majority opinion "stirred the innards of Brandeis and me and he spurred me to write a dissent." After Brandeis criticized the opinion, Holmes rewrote it. Holmes to Harold Laski, 25 May 1918, in Mark DeWolfe Howe, ed., Holmes-Laski Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Harold Laski (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 157. Holmes also said of the case: "I imagine the majority thought [my dissent] ill timed and regrettable as I thought" their decision. Holmes to Frederick Pollock, June 14, 1918, in Mark DeWolf Howe, ed., Holmes-Pollock Letters (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 267. Holmes told a friend that his famous opinion in Schenck v. United States, 247 U.S. 47 (1919), was intended to "make amends" for his regretable *Patterson* opinion. Giles J. Patterson, Free Speech and a Free Press (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1939), p. 147. Holmes and Brandeis also dissented in a similar case in 1923. Craig v. Hecht, 263 U.S. 255 (1923).

[115] Killits, Toledo and Lucas County, 1:297-98, 3:588-92.

[116] Vance H. Trimble, The Astonishing Mr. Scripps: The Turbulent Life of America's Penny Press Lord (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1992), p. 326.

[117] Negley D. Cochran, E.W. Scripps (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933).

[118] See, e.g., Scripps v. Scripps, James Scripps to E.W. Scripps, 13 February 1914, Plaintiff's Exhibit No. 55, p. 215; James Scripps to Robert Scripps, 27 May 1918, Plaintiff's Exhibit 81, p. 318.

[119] J.W. Curts to Charles Northrup, 25 October 1918.

[120] Cochran autobiography, p. 25; Cochran to Marie O. Cochran Hartough, 28 September 1938; Charles Jay Heath, Jr., "A Toledo Editor Looks at the 1920's: An Interpretation of the Life of Negley D. Cochran, Part II," Northwest Ohio Quarterly 40 (1) (Winter 1967-68), pp. 17-19.

[121] Negley Cochran, "The News-Bee's Future," News-Bee, 13 December 1921, p. 4; Robert P. Scripps, "N.D. Cochran Retires," News-Bee, 13 December 1921, p. 4; Scripps v. Scripps, E.W. Scripps, James G.

Scripps, Ellen Brown Scripps Memos, Plaintiffs Exhibit Nos. 84, 86, 13 November 1918, p. 329; Cochran, E.W. Scripps, pp. 78-79.

[122] Harrison, The Blade of Toledo, p. 261.

[123] "Negley D. Cochran, Retired Editor, 77," New York Times, April 14, 1941, p. 17.

[124] Frankfurter and Landis, "Power of Congress Over Procedure in Criminal Contempts," pp. 1010-58. The Supreme Court relied on this article in reversing the Toledo case in Nye v. United States, 313 U.S. 33, 47 (1940). See Frederick B. Wiener, Effective Appellate Advocacy (New York: Prentice Hall, 1950), p. 132, fn. 102.

[125] Felix Frankfurter, "Lèsè Majestè Mayer," in Philip B. Kurland, ed., Felix Frankfurter on the Supreme Court (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1970), p. 145. See also Thomas Cromwell Holmes, Problems of Contempt of Court (Baltimore, Md.: Horn-Shorter Co., 1934), p. 70 ("The majority opinion is a most unsatisfactory one, and displays an amazing misinterpretation and distortion of historical fact.").

[126] Cochran to Newton D. Baker, 31 January 1919.

[127] David A. McMurray, "The Willys-Overland Strike, 1919 (Part II)," Northwest Ohio Quarterly 37(2) (Spring 1965), p. 39; Heath, "A Toledo Editor (II)," p. 17.

[128] News item, The Ohio Newspaper (January 1921):13-16. A Lucas County courthouse fire destroyed all documents from this period. No report of the outcome of the libel case was found in the News-Bee or Blade or Cochran's papers. A box containing Cochran's materials investigating Killits was apparently destroyed in about 1938. Marie O. Cochran Hartough to Cochran, 12 September 1938.

[129] Cochran to W.B. Colver, 12 November 1921.

[130] Cochran to Alfred O. Anderson, 8 January 1919.

[131] Killits, Toledo and Lucas County. See also John M. Killits, "The Federal Bench," in Neff, Bench and Bar of Northern Ohio, pp. 95-100.

[132] "The Fourth Estate Says," Ohio Bar Association Report, 26 September 1938, p. 387.

[133] Cochran to Robert S. Brown, 18 July 1933.

[134] Cochran to Larry L. Sisk, 27 March 1934.

[135] "The Fourth Estate Says," Ohio Bar Association Report, 26 September 1938, p. 387.

[136] Schenck v. United States, 249 U.S. 47 (1919); Frohwerk v. United States, 249 U.S. 204 (1919); Debs v. United States, 249 U.S. 211 (1919); Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616 (1919); Gitlow v. New York, 268 U.S. 652 (1925); Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357 (1927).

[137] Gitlow v. New York, 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

[138] Near v. Minnesota, 283 U.S. 697 (1931).

[139] Dan H. McCullough, "Trial By Newspaper—Free Press and Fair Trial, Part II: The History of the First Amendment and the Acts of September 24, 1789, and March 2, 1831," South Dakota Law Review 12 (Spring 1967), pp. 174, 214.

[140] Patterson, Free Speech and a Free Press, p. 151.

[141] Nye v. United States, 313 U.S. 33 (1940); Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. 252 (1941); Pennekamp v. Florida, 328 U.S. 331 (1946); Craig v. Harney, 331 U.S. 367 (1946).

[142] Nye v. United States, 313 U.S. 51. See Morris L. Ernst, The Great Reversals (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1973), pp. 126-31.

[143] Pennekamp v. Florida, 328 U.S. 331.

[144] Francis E. Allen, "Fair Trial and Free Press: No Fundamental Clash Between the Two," American Bar Association Journal 41(10) (October 1955), p. 898; Lewis F. Powell, Jr., "The Right to a Fair Trial," American Bar Association Journal 51(6) (June 1965), p. 537

"All for Each and Each for All"

The Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati, 1888-1988

By Paulette D. Kilmer, Ph.D.

Communication Department
University of Toledo

419-530-4672 (office)
419-427-1284 (home)
pkilmer@pop3.utoledo.edu

For The History Division at AEJMC's 2001 Convention

at The Grand Hyatt Hotel in Washington, D.C.
August 4-8, 2001

Abstract:

"All for Each and Each for All"

The Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati, 1888-1988

By Paulette D. Kilmer, Ph.D.

Communication Department
University of Toledo

419-530-4672 (office)
419-427-1284 (home)
pkilmer@pop3.utoledo.edu

This paper analyzes the rise and fall of the Woman's Press Club (WPC) of Cincinnati, a blip on the radar screen of eternity that, like a lot of women's history, usually is forgotten. Although loyalty to the past doomed the WPC, members' experiences provide an essential link in understanding women's history. The WPC illustrates how solidarity both breathes life into a group and, when taken too far, slowly suffocates it.

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"All for Each and Each for All"

The Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati, 1888-1988

ALOHA

New friends are adventure--
lands to conquer...seas to roam...
Old friends are sanctuary: coming home.[1]

History exists because interested parties conspire to sanctify the present by casting it in the shadows of the past. Human beings remember their own lives through the lens of their community's values and expectations.[2] As Michel Foucault notes, the powerful naturally distort narratives to favor their selfish interests; nevertheless, this negotiation of time and space we call history does not belong to the dominating class. No matter how often repeated, no one view of the world blots out all other perspectives entirely.[3] This paper analyzes the rise and fall of the Woman's Press Club (WPC) of Cincinnati, a blip on the radar screen of eternity that, like a lot of women's history, usually goes unmentioned. However, these forgotten journalists speak to historians via archives, including fragile clippings that celebrate their accomplishments and personalities.

This paper offers a brief history of that circle of bold women who united against bigotry and persevered over astounding odds partly because, through the press club, they helped one another improve as writers as well as advance professionally. Their story cannot be told adequately in broad strokes that erase the individuality of their endeavors and battles. Therefore, in addition to tracing chronological events, this essay focuses on the personal, the unique, and the intuitive elements in the WPC chronicle. Besides recounting successes and failures, detailed case studies, like this one, illustrate in very human terms why solidarity taken to extremes has proven deadly to organizations founded to assist women in their ongoing struggle for equality. The WPC flourished for decades and then wilted.

Although fidelity to past aspirations prevented this devout sisterhood from cultivating their cherished group into a viable twentieth-century club, their experiences provide an essential link in the chain of understanding the distinctive essence of women's history.

Review of Literature--Remembering Forgotten Women

Of course, any consideration of women's contributions via writing organizations must begin with praise of Elizabeth Burt's *Women's Press Organizations: 1881-1999*, a comprehensive yet sprightly history of the development of these crucial alliances. In fact, a concise version of this paper appears in that anthology of press groups across the nation. Ironically, the very intimacy that enabled the Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati to thrive for decades, eventually, made it as obsolete as bustles. Burt notes that over half of the thirty-seven press organizations profiled in her book still exist; moreover, some like the Illinois Woman's Press Association (1885-present), remain vibrant. Those that folded could not adapt to the times. Burt explains, "Changing lifestyles, a decrease of available time for voluntary and professional activities, and increasing demands for organizational effort seem to have doomed these organizations."[4] Perhaps, case studies, like this one, will shed light on why some associations could not adjust to modern pressures.

Kathleen L. Endres points out that Women's Press Organizations in Cleveland followed a similar path of initial blossoming followed by gradual decline that marked the history of the Cincinnati group. Both changed their names several times; indeed, they even joined forces for a while to form the Ohio Woman's Press Association in 1889.[5] However, each distinctive local coterie still held grassroots meetings with lively programs. In 1912, they dissolved their affiliation.

Another difference between the two organizations relates to their definition of themselves as professional writers. While the Cleveland group split in half with the poets establishing the Cleveland Writers Club, the ladies in Cincinnati emphasized selling written work. It didn't matter to them if the author wrote potboilers for dime-novel houses or articles for the daily newspaper. The experiences of Ohio's associations for penmen suggest that the fiction factory--folks earning money by supplying plots, sonnets, essays, and whatever else was needed to a variety of publishers--flourished until just after World War II.

Burt's insightful essay on the woman's press club movement in the late nineteenth century inspired me to appreciate how professional organizations gave women a sense of legitimate participation in a hostile, still male-dominated field.[6] Karen Blair's analysis of the opportunities for self-fulfillment and public service in the women's club movement and Agnes Gottlieb's study of the Woman's Press Club of New York help place the experiences of writers in Cincinnati in context.[7]

Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, Robert Wiebe's *The Search for Order: 1877-1920*, and Paulette D. Kilmer's, *Fear of Sinking: The American Success Formula in the Gilded Age* illuminated the historical flavor of the era.[8]

Similarly, histories of magazine publishing also proved vital because many of the members in the Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati sold their works to the *Saturday Evening Post* and other popular leviathans. For example, A. J. van Zuilen traced the decline of general interest magazines between 1946 and 1972; Roland E. Wolseley focused on the changing magazine; and Theodore Peterson wrote a comprehensive history of magazines in the twentieth century.[9]

In addition to these secondary sources, archives at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library in Union Terminal contain a treasure chest of information concerning the struggles and triumphs of the Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati. Although the early records were lost decades ago, nevertheless, the collection encompasses the entire century of the organization's existence--1888 to 1998.

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Social and Professional Success

For a hundred years, members of the Woman's Press Club (WPC) of Cincinnati made Alexander Dumas' pledge in *The Three Musketeers* --"each for all and all for each"--a reality. Their quest to excel as writers prompted them to unite, thus, increasing their chances of financial success. However, the club also filled social holes in individuals' lives. President Frances Eminger wrote a history to commemorate the organization's Golden Anniversary in 1938. To her, "Rose Evangeline Angel", the first name on the roll call in the first yearbook, published in May of 1890, symbolized the WPC's meaning for its members: a locus for "beauty of thought, faith in each other and love for one another."[10]

The Woman's Press Club in Cincinnati grew out of a national wave of unrest. Members tried to remain "ladies" as they defied social conventions that banned them from public arenas. Blair explains that woman's clubs provided a haven for these "domestic feminists" where they could gain power through cooperation and, therein, influence the previously male-dominated realm of public life.[11] Throughout the late nineteenth century, increasing numbers of young "ladies" graduated from high schools, normal schools and colleges.[12] These graduates joined woman's clubs to apply their education to community service and to advance in careers formerly reserved for men. Burt points out that from 1885 on, women fought to attain their rightful place in the newsroom and, of course, to be recognized as legitimate journalists.[13]

Low salary and terrible working conditions as well as ridicule from male colleagues reflected the lack of respect that most newspaperwomen endured. Burt notes that men often persecuted the newcomers because they resented the prospect of having to compete with them.[14] Burt, Agnes Hooper Gottlieb and Maurine Beasley agree that social and economic conditions spurred women journalists to seek solidarity in press clubs.[15]

In one respect, the Cincinnati Woman's Press Club may have differed from most of its counterparts. Four boxes of archival materials indicate that many members either made their living as verse writers or published poetry in addition to prose or newspaper articles. Charles Goss, who wrote *Cincinnati--The Queen City* in 1912, said the WPC was "purely literary."[16]

Eminger concluded that the WPC had always served both "the woman who writes to live and the woman who lives to write".[17] In fact, the founder of the organization, Mrs. S. C. Hazlett-Bevis, invited both colleagues she had met while covering events for the *Penny Post* and local literary women to discuss the possibility of launching a woman's press club. Hazlett-Bevis had just returned from attending the International Congress for Women in Washington, D.C., in April of 1888. Over cups of tea at the Gibson House, the women decided to limit membership to those who published their work or gave public lectures.

Eventually, journalists, magazine editors, poets, novelists, authors of cliffhangers and short-stories as well as historians, composers and, later, radio-continuity writers joined the WPC. Under Hazlett-Bevis' leadership, the charter members set an example of working together that blossomed into nine decades of accomplishment, with the heyday lasting from the 1930s into the 1960s. This essay will examine the factors that inspired women to organize, the ways members truly lived their chivalrous motto, and, finally, the economic changes in the mass media that made the WPC as obsolete as rhyming newspaper verses, Wedgewood Blue teas, and white gloves.

In Search of Fellow Musketeers

When Hazlett-Bevis called for the establishment of a union of pen women, she had only lived in Queen City (Cincinnati) for a little while. She had moved from New York to pursue her career as a "girl" reporter with the *Penny Post*. She believed that women struggling to earn a living in print could help one another. The WPC's first baker's dozen of members unanimously selected Hazlett-Bevis as their new leader. Although they appointed a librarian, most records chronicling the first two decades of WPC history have vanished.[18]

Despite changing times and fashions, the mission of the Woman's Press

Club remained constant: to foster professional opportunities through solidarity. The yearbooks indicate a shift in programs from provocative subjects like "Dishonest Capital and Honest Labor," "Why Men Want to Vote," and "Why Men Don't Want Women to Vote" to afternoons devoted to readings of fiction, domestic concerns, such as "What About a Sandwich?" and career topics--"Pyrotechnical Journalism," "International Copyright" and "Conciseness in Journalistic Writing." Perhaps, members eschewed controversies to avert disastrous partisan splits.

Although Burt, Blair and other scholars have established that the suffrage movement and the rise of woman's clubs coincided at many points, still not all women agreed on the need for the ballot. Some opposed the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Indeed, Florence Goff Schwarz, a poet who served as president for both the Woman's Press Club and the Greater Cincinnati Writer's League, ran the Ohio office of the Antisuffrage League from Queen City. She moved to Cincinnati after teaching at Plattsburg Normal School in Plattsburg, New York and orchestrated antisuffrage campaigns in Wisconsin, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and other states. She was in her early twenties at the time and during World War I worked on the mayor's victory committee.[19] Obviously, outspoken, passionate leaders--like Schwarz--could have commanded a following and, thus, splintered the WPC.

Possibly, the pen women feared political squabbles would cost them the benefits they had gained from maintaining a united front in the male-controlled publishing world. Goss explained that most members equated the WPC with literary concerns and pursued philanthropic causes elsewhere.[20] They outlawed discussions of politics or religion at either general meetings or executive-board sessions.

The leaders scrupulously followed the rules set down in their Constitution and, thus, like many other women's clubs of the era were entrenched in ritual.[21] For instance, the by-laws specified that any individual who missed three consecutive meetings without sending a "reasonable excuse" had her name stricken from the membership roster. Also, the correct response to the roll call was a brief, uplifting quotation. Each program presenter could speak for up to fifteen minutes. "In discussion of any question, the time taken by each member shall not exceed three minutes, and no member shall speak more than twice upon the same subject without the permission of the chair."[22] Moreover, Eminger bragged that the club was the first local group to enforce "Parliamentary Law." Members were not allowed to speak unless they stood up and directly addressed the chair.[23]

The Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati gained stature by becoming a charter member of the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs in 1890 and being among the first to join the National (today General) Federation of Women's Clubs. They considered themselves part of the Buckeye creative tradition that began with Harriet Beecher Stowe and the Cary sisters, Alice and Phoebe. Stowe collected evidence for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* while living in a brick house under some big trees. She and her famous brothers, including the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, helped runaway slaves flee via the underground railroad.[24] The Cary Sisters sold poetry to all the Cincinnati papers despite their cruel stepmother, who forced them to work from dawn until dusk and, then, denied them a candle.[25]

Recalling some favorite WPC anecdotes at the Diamond Anniversary celebration in 1958, past president Phyllis Swisher said, "... [an] urgent need to express themselves in poetry and prose, not just for their own personal enjoyment, but as professionals whose words would be read and remembered" had inspired the founders.[26] The Constitution of 1896 stated the club's goal: "the mutual improvement of women writers and the securing of all the benefits arising from organized effort."[27] Article VII spelled out the membership requirements:

> Section 1. Authors and writers for standard publications shall be eligible to membership.
>
> Section 2. The candidate for membership will submit to the Committee on

Credentials any of the following:

a. One or more volumes of her writing.

b. Articles, stories or poems printed in standard publications.

c. Manuscripts of public lectures.

d. A letter from the editor of a standard periodical showing that the candidate has been a contributor to his columns.

Section 3. Four negative votes shall defeat a candidate."[28]

Initially, two categories of membership were offered: regular for those who sold their words and associate, for those who contributed items but received no remuneration. To join, each had to publish two pieces in standard publications. Over the years, sometimes they dropped the associate level, and in later decades, they introduced the designation "corresponding" for women who had moved away. Corresponding members were expected to publish. Members brought guests including, occasionally, their husbands or other men, to WPC monthly social events. Some news clippings emphasize that prominent social belles and matrons attended WPC teas.

Living Up To the Solidarity Motto

The monthly social gatherings introduced these writers to the most powerful social leaders in the region as well as to other pen women. The programs, especially in the early years, contained educational lectures, how-to tips, and readings of fiction. Detractors disparaged these essential networking opportunities. In fact, in 1905, ex-president Grover Cleveland accused women of joining groups (like the WPC) to punish their wayward husbands. He said woman's clubs threatened to destroy domestic tranquility and, thus, to subvert the home. WPC member Virginia G. Ellard denounced Cleveland's glittering generalities.

Ellard suggested that working together gave club women a sense of purpose and made them feel respected for the tasks they did in their homes.

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Moreover, she concluded, club service "has made women more just and tolerant toward one another."[29] She described efforts of woman's clubs to help incorrigible, usually, homeless girls learn to become productive citizens, to reduce poverty, and to attain equal pay and safe working conditions.[30]

Most WPC members joined local women's clubs to implement reforms. From the press club, they sought opportunities to learn from women who had succeeded in publishing things. In fact, although the archives provide details mostly about social events, the WPC also conducted bimonthly workshops to strengthen marketing as well as writing skills. "The club [was] a stepping stone for many aspiring authors, for it [existed] only [to aid] by experience and example those who [were] young in literary life."[31]

Mary Hoge Bruce reminisced about leaving the rocking chair, the most comfortable seat, for the workshop leaders who had published books of verse or novels, won national prizes, and/or heard their poems read on national radio programs.[32] "...[Many] of us... [stood] in a bit of awe of those earlier members. They... set [for] us standards of achievement and inspired in us a respect for the creative writing profession...which added to our stature as an organization and to us as individuals."[33]

Members told anecdotes that blended professional activity with friendship. For example, Bruce recalled, "we ended the afternoon with a cup of tea when Mrs. Gierluf Jensen frequently brought homemade cookies for our enjoyment, and we had a woman engaged to prepare the tea table for us." These ordinary women reached out to help one another convert dreams into a lifestyle. Goss explained that jealousy never erupted because this sisterhood emphasized character first and ability second. "Each is proud of [anyone else's] success in [her] chosen line of work."[34]

In her speech at the WPC's seventieth birthday party, Swisher described seven outstanding writers to represent each decade of the organization's existence. She emphasized every individual's personality and vulnerability because from its inception the club cultivated camaraderie as well as professional accomplishments. The literary lions were also normal human beings whose experiences reflected the universal threads that bound all woman of all classes together.

For example, Swisher recalled that Julie Caroline O'Hara, who lectured in 1896 on "A Tyro's Experience in Newspaper Writing," was "remembered...for her wonderful sense of humor and Dresden china appearance..."[15] Susie Best taught high school English, wrote textbooks and won poetry contests but remained memorable mostly because like all women she had "many and varied moods." Catherine Hunter Coe expressed her love for her husband in a poem about longing to hear his key in the door every evening. George Elliston not only distinguished herself as a reporter and established a chair of poetry at the University of Cincinnati, she extolled the power of prayer as a refuge in the midst of crises on the city streets or at her desk "when [her] soul [was] sore afraid."[16] Everyone who had known the "delightful" Adaline Tatman smiled when Swisher recalled the poet defying style to wear her cherished hats!

In the archives, sometimes notes about club business jotted down quickly on an old envelop contain the family's grocery list--wieners, brown sugar, and white tissues. These intrusions of the real world into the club's regimen reflect the merger of personal life with professional development that by the 1980s became impossible. But, in the 1950-60s, the combination suited many women. When her friend, Helen D. Berning, died at the age of 79 on Aug. 16, 1971, Leona F. Westland delivered this eulogy for the former club president at a WPC meeting:[17]

> Helen was brown-haired and brown-eyed, and I remember her tweed coat with combinations of red, yellow and green--fall colors. She was wearing it when we strangers boarded the same bus one Saturday afternoon after she had attended a Press Club meeting. She had seen me with a *Writer's Digest* in my arms and asked me to sit beside her. When she left me in Wyoming [a suburb of Cincinnati], I had an invitation to attend your meeting. And, eventually, I joined...

Westland recalled becoming best friends with Berning, a poet, while participating in WPC events. Indeed, they served as club officers together. Then, Westland said Berning "drifted away into a setting sun"; actually, she and her husband moved to Albuquerque in 1968 to be near their daughter.[18] These personal details illuminate what the WPC meant to its members and, ultimately, help explain its demise.

These friendships strengthened the resolve of members to apply their motto, "all for each and each for all" to their professional lives. "The loyalty of the Woman's Press Club to one another [was] proverbial," according to Goss.[19] As editors or founders of poetry journals, some WPC stars created precious space for their pen sisters' verses. George Elliston, who proved she could handle the biggest stories in competition with the best male reporters, published a magazine, *The Gypsy*. Elliston interviewed murderers, made the first phone call to the *Times-Star* from the ocean en route to interviewing King George VI at his coronation, visited the Pope, toured the Paris Exposition, and covered the eruption of a volcano in Mexico before becoming the editor of the society page. This accomplished journalist syndicated her poems in many newspapers around the country and read them over the radio. They were translated into French, German and Russian as well as set to music and included in anthologies. She also sponsored Chautauqua programs in a church she purchased in Morrow, Ohio.

Another press-club member, Ethel Knapp Behrman, read her own and some other poets' works on her radio show in the 1920s. She told children's stories over the air and published a book of verse. Annette Patton Cornell, an active WPC member from Fort Mitchell, Kentucky, read poems on her own show for two radio stations for seventeen years. She and B.Y. Williams won many local, state and national honors as poets. They started their own poetry magazine during the Depression, *Talaria*, and published WPC sisters. *Talaria* thrived until World War II when problems arose because their largest circulation areas were in Germany and Japan. The National League of American

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Pen Women honored Cornell as the greatest poet of the past fifty years in 1974. The WPC introduced beginning poets to such influential regional voices as Williams and Cornell as well as gave them chances to have their work reviewed by these masters of the craft.

Cornell and Williams brought major poets, like Robert Frost, a friend of Cornell's, to Cincinnati. Katherine Hunter Coe featured poems from WPC members in an anthology, *Poems of All Nations*. Hunter, Cornell, Williams and other WPC poets regularly published their work in quality magazines, like *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Colliers*, *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Pictorial Review*. Newspapers featured poetry in special columns, and many hired an editor to screen the submissions. In fact, in 1919, the *Davis Anthology of Newspaper Verse* came into existence. By 1940, Mrs. Davis selected 225 poems from 72 newspapers, including ten from the *Cincinnati Times-Star*.[40]

Solidarity Can't Defy the Bottom Line

"All for each and each for all" meant newspaper and literary women worked together to help one another succeed. In many ways, the Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati resembled the fiction factory Paulette D. Kilmer describes in the *Fear of Sinking*.[41] She points out that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many writers prospered and some gained regional fame by selling their wares to multiple markets. It was the era of payment by column inch and fuzzy distinctions between who was a reporter and who was a magazine contributor. Many wore both hats.

In Cincinnati, for example, Mrs. Amoretta Colby Fitch, who became the oldest living newspaper woman in Ohio and the Midwest, drew praise both in the newsroom and in the literary world. "The little old lady," as folks in Queen City called her, won respect as a "woman story chaser" in Fernbank, Saylor Park and Riverside. Fitch, who rode a bicycle to gather news for the *Commercial Tribune*, also sold items to magazines. While still a teenager, she married George A. Fitch, a concert singer. They moved to Cincinnati, where upon retiring from his musical career, he balanced the books for the railroad.

This woman helped launch the WPC (which was sometimes also called the Ohio Newspaper Women's Association) and other local literary and women's clubs.[42] Eventually, Fitch wrote a column about women's interests for the newspaper and later served as the editor of the women's department. Besides winning prizes, she impressed the burly naturalist, Jack London, whose masterpieces include *Call of the Wild*. He sent Fitch's "Morning Prayer" to a British labor union that "adopted [it] as voicing the spirit of the faithful worker:"[43]

I pray thee Lord, I may not shirk
If I should die before the night
I pray the Thee, Lord, my work's
alright.

In 1930, to recognize Fitch's fiftieth year as a newspaper woman, the *Cincinnati Times-Star* ran a feature about her adventures covering a notorious kidnapping case.[44] For four years, headlines around the globe told the tale of the missing babe who was whisked from Fernbank to Rome by her aunt. The prolific writer of greeting-card messages contributed four poems to the *Ohio Anthology of Poetry* of 1934. When Fitch was 77, she became an editor of *The Spinner* poetry magazine. Throughout her long, lively life, she kept writing. The WPC threw birthday parties for Fitch each year until illness grounded her when she in her mid-eighties. She died at the age of 92.

Another colorful journalist, Ruth Neely France, wrote some funny articles for a spoof tabloid in 1921, *The Scoop*, a "Night Extra." She made the front-page:

> **Awful Mishap; Times-Star is Gloom Stricken**
>
> With a crash that resounded off Price Hill, shook Ft. Thomas and alarmed Cumminsville, Ruth Neely, lost in a mental fog engendered by trying to decipher some of her copy early this morning, collided with her ego and was badly injured. The ego, who is larger than a boulevard light pole, and far brighter, was unimpaired by the impact.
>
> Three men from the copy desk witnessed the accident but refused to call an ambulance,

> fearing it might take the victim to the hospital. One of the staff on whose route is the morgue notified that department...to prepare itself. The morgue-keeper, who had just finished reading an installment of "What My Husband Doesn't Know," said he would be happy to oblige.
>
> Miss Neely recovered, however, and...is, as usual, laughing to herself over the cleverness of some copy she is evolving for the Woman's Page.

This satirical tribute to Ruth Neely [France] follows the tenets of objectivity to report an imaginary event. In real newspapers, the shift from coverage that included poetry and cliffhangers as well as occasional sermons and essays occurred in many places slowly. At least until the Depression if not until after World War II, many editors still ran poetry and fiction in their columns. The *Davis Newspaper Poem Anthology* attests to this reality.[45]

In fact, Clark B. Firestone, the editor of poetry for the *Cincinnati Times-Star*, said that the bulk of verses in the *Davis Anthology* came from prolific, prize-winning writers, like Mabel Posegate, from the Cincinnati area. "Mrs. Posegate had the poetic gift, a sense of color and music, a purpose always to seek out the soul of things. More than that, she was a lifelong student..."[46]

Posegate, whom Firestone said "was better known elsewhere than at home" from her books of verse and magazines articles, had contributed poems to the *Times-Star's* "Southeast Corner" for a quarter of a century. Like Posegate, a number of the press club women wrote for a variety of publications, but some worked strictly as journalists or editors. Firestone's tribute to Posegate suggests that regardless of what they wrote, these women respected one another. Many of them, probably, hoped Firestone's assessment of their pal, Mabel, would also apply to them: "This gifted woman, at once a generous-hearted friend and a busy wife and mother, followed a Dream, and sometimes it led her upon the heights."[47]

Perhaps, the personal ties between members prevented them from assigning worth to one another based upon a pecking order that elevated factual accounts and discredited fanciful narratives or vice versa. Burt notes that many press clubs agonized over deciding who qualified as a woman journalist. "Literary ladies--often defined as those who dabbled in writing as a hobby, though many did it for a living--were instead devalued and distanced from the journalism community."[48]

Burt suggests this schism troubled many women who felt torn between their inner voice and the clinical professional standards of the newsroom. As intellectual currents swept away sentiment, fact and its retinue of pragmatic, objective, and scientific approaches to knowledge spread.[49] In *The Search for Order, 1877-1920,* Robert H. Wiebe concludes that progress, especially the railroad, transformed society, erasing once absolute geographic barriers and inaugurating the sanctity of impersonal management and science. "For the lack of anything that made better sense of their world, people everywhere weighed, counted, and measured it."[50] Burt points out that in the early twentieth century, professional journalism became synonymous with hard, cold facts and, therein, instinctive, emotional or creative work were devalued.[51] Women struggled to balance their need for professional recognition in a male arena with their equally compelling need to remain sensitive and empathetic.

The Woman's Press Club in Cincinnati fulfilled precisely the same functions Burt ascribes to similar organizations across the country--providing support and practical advice. However, as Burt notes, the hallmarks of mentoring, nurturing, even sacrificing for one another characteristic of the woman's press clubs clashed with the tide of times.[52] By the end of the nineteenth century, service to self rather than to others stole the imaginations of many intellectuals and soon seeped into the culture in the form of rewards for efficiency, competition and productivity.

In terms of economics, this emphasis on productivity and competition spelled doom for magazines and some newspapers that could not compete with radio and television. The Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati existed as long as

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there were outlets for poems, short stories, and personal essays as well as jobs on local newspapers for women. The newspaper jobs remained. The fiction markets shrank. A. J. van Zuilen traced the *Decline and Fall of the General Interest Mass Audience Magazines in the United States During the Period of 1946-1972.*[53] If professional clubs were given death certificates, this long title could be the cause of demise for the WPC.

Records indicate that up to the early 1970's, the WPC drew anywhere from thirty to fifty to even one-hundred members and guests at its social gatherings. The bimonthly workshops also attracted writers eager to sell pieces to *The Saturday Evening Post, Colliers, Mid-Weekly Pictorial,* and the *Ladies Home Companion.* As long as quality magazines published thick issues and bought poems, the Cincinnati bards prospered.

"I thought I was Edna St. Vincent Millay," Kathryn Evans McKay told a *Cincinnati Post* reporter in 1986. McKay began contributing to *Cosmopolitan* as well as to newspapers in Chicago, Columbus, and Cincinnati when she was thirteen. She and the last WPC musketeers realized they would have to disband the club at a celebration to commemorate its centennial. Interest had rapidly declined by the 1980s. Evans recalled luncheons in the 1950s:

> The meetings were all glamorous. We'd fill the ballroom of the Gibson or Sinton, all dressed up, with hats and gloves. We'd invite a speaker and have readings. In our heyday, we wouldn't be done until 4 or 5 p.m.

One reason the WPC faded away was the consolidation, liquidation and editorial upheavals in the magazines that once had published poetry. Just after World War II, television cut into the advertising revenue essential to magazines.[54] Readers demanded editorials, exposes of social problems, commentaries on political issues, and how-to information. The journalistic pieces soon filled space once set aside for poems and short stories.[55] In its glory years, *The Saturday Evening Post* showcased Norman Rockwell paintings on its covers. These homespun views of middle America reflected many of themes dear to the Cincinnati women poets: home, children, seasons, nature, Christmas, patriotism, and courtship. When the *Post* switched to quasi-muckraking articles and modern things in 1961, the rule of charm evident in prose and poetry reminiscent of Rockwell ended.[56]

"My feeling is that poets are out there," Pollyanna Sedziol, the last president of the Woman's Press Club, said in 1988. "Most women's magazines and many magazines, generally, used to carry a poetry column. Now there are none."[57]

By the early 1970s, membership had dropped to thirty. Sedziol, a poet, who sold one-thousand works to eighty magazines, explained that no one joined between 1974 and 1988. Of the fourteen names on the roster in the final year, only seven remained active. Ironically, the same number, six, attended the last supper in 1988 and the very first planning session in 1888. Sedziol watched the club dwindle as old age, transportation problems, death, and relocation claimed members.

The two last presidents of the organization were not sure why women no longer took the musketeer pledge. Perhaps, the club's solidarity had kept members from recognizing the need to adapt to recruit new members. Goss concluded that the WPC was one of the oldest and most conservative woman's clubs in Ohio.[58] McKay said writers who used four-letter language were not welcome. Sedziol thought changes in demands on women's time working and raising their families might have made it impossible for them to join. A century ago, the woman's clubs empowered members to make a difference in their communities. Thanks in large part to the impact of the woman's clubs, including the WPC, today women speak in a myriad of public forums.

The last six musketeers donated the books written by WPC members to the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County. They gave the historical records to the Cincinnati Historical Society Library. Officially, the Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati ended in 1988, but as club president Sedziol assured the "Word Worthy Women" whom she wrote to one last time on behalf of the WPC, "In 1988 our organization will no longer be a supporting element, but we ourselves will continue viable, and our affection for each other will endure." Thus, the motto, "all for each and each for all" outlived its parent organization, proving Cornell was right: "Friendship is a golden rose branded upon the heart...No petal drifts."

The poetry and records of the WPC constitute part of the archival history of the State of Ohio and the profession of journalism. However, when the organization stopped meeting, its commemorative rituals became frozen, like the rites of the Vestal Virgins--known by a few scholars but long forgotten by everyone else. This paper has told one fascinating story embedded within the records of the Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati--the power of solidarity to breath life into a group and, when taken too far, to slowly strangle it to death. This woman's professional alliance died because its leaders focused so intently on the past that they could not respond to the ever-changing present and, therein, build a dynamic future. Of course, this harsh reality is easier to see in hindsight than it would have been in the 1960s.

Furthermore, over the past three decades, upheavals in women's routines have magnified the demands on their time and may have made the WPC (and kindred quasi-social professional clubs) obsolete. Perhaps, the greatest gift WPC sisters offer to their modern counterparts is the memory of how camaraderie did inspire, inform, and empower women in past generations. Forgetting that truth could encourage go-getters to lead a fragmented existence devoted to scrambling up the corporate ladder and repeating the mistakes that men have made in their obsession with success narrowly defined in terms of wealth and power.

[1] This untitled poem by Annette Patton Cornell was printed on a card in the archives of the Woman's Press Club at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library in Union Terminal.

[2] In Obituaries in American Culture (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2000) Janice Hume points out on page 130 that obituaries not only serve as commemorations of the dead but also delineate the cherished values and cultural definitions of success. Maurice Halbwachs notes that "...individual memory is nevertheless an aspect of group memory, since each impression and each fact,even if it apparently concerns a particular person exclusively, leaves a lasting memory only to the extent that it is connected with the thoughts that come to us from the social milieu." See Halbwachs,*On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 53.

Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge, 1989). He explains on pages 3 and 4 that although experiences and impressions of the past do often legitimate the status quo, still "these points, though true, are as they stand insufficient when thus put. For images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past...are conveyed and sustained (more or less ritual) performances." On page 103, he concludes that although commemorative rites do reflect cultural and political contexts, those variables alone do not explain them.

[4] Elizabeth Burt, editor, *Women's Press Organizations: 1881-1999* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2000) xvi. The Chapter I wrote, *Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati: 1888-1889*, appears on pages 231-240.

[5] Kathleen L. Endres, Women's Press Organizations in Cleveland in Burt, *Women's Press Organization*, 291-300.

[6] Elizabeth V. Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy: The Woman's Press Club Movement, 1881-1900," *Journalism History* 23:2 (Summer 1997) 72-84.

[7] Karen Blair, *The Club Woman As Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980); Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, "Networking in the Nineteenth Century: Founding of the Woman's Press Club of New York City," *Journalism History*, Vol. 21:4 (Winter 1995).

[8] Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1975); *Robert Wiebe's The Search for Order: 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1986); and Paulette D. Kilmer, *Fear of Sinking: The American Success Formula in the Gilded Age* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1996).

[9] A. J. van Zuilen, *The Life Cycle of Magazines: Decline and Fall of the General Interest Mass Audience Magazines in the United States During the Period of 1946-1972* (Uithoorn, The Netherlands: Graduate Press, 1977); Roland E. Wolseley, *The Changing Magazine* (New York: Hastings, 1973); and Theodore Peterson, "The Troubled Giant," *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964).

[10] The original and several copies of Frances Eminger's "History of the Woman's Press Club: 1888-1938," are preserved in Box 1, Folder 1 of the Woman's Press Club Collection, 1888-1979, arranged by Mary Jane Neely and housed in the Cincinnati Historical Society Library in Union Station Terminal. The quotation is on page 2.

[11] Blair, *The Club Woman As Feminist* in Gottlieb, "Networking in the Nineteenth Century," 156.

[12] Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 240-241.

[13] Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy," 72-84.

[14] Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy," 80.

[15] Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy," 72-84. Gottlieb, "Networking in the Nineteenth Century, 156-163. Maurine Beasley, "The Women's National Press Club: Case Study of Professional Aspirations," *Journalism History* 15:4 (Winter 1988) 112-121.

[16] Rev. Charles Frederic Goss, *Cincinnati--The Queen City*, vol. 2 (Cincinnati: Clarke, 1912) 521.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Eminger, who served as the club's president from 1936 to 1938, explained that the early notes, scrapbooks, and other documents disappeared from a bookcase in the Literary Club when circumstances forced the organization to switch meeting places several times. Fortunately, Mrs. Amoretta Fitch hung on to her early yearbooks and donated them to the WPC in 1938. See Box 1, Folder 1 of the Woman's Press Club Collection.

[19] "Florence Goff Schwarz Dies; Clubwoman Wrote Poetry; Was Active Antisuffragist," 15 Aug. 1946. Although the name of the newspaper is not on the obituary, it probably came from the the Cincinnati *Times-Star* because most of the clippings in the archives are from that paper. See Box Three, the 1946-47 Scrapbook, the WPC Collection, 1888-1979. Goss said Schwarz "wrote in a humorous vein for a New York magazine." See *Cincinnati--The Queen City*, vol. 1, 303.

[20] Goss, *Cincinnati--The Queen City*, vol. 2, 521. Many references scattered in the archives also suggest that these pen women served in numerous reform and public service organizations.

[21] Gottlieb, "Networking in the Nineteenth Century," 157.

[22] Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati Yearbook. All of them from 1896 on contain the Constitution. Box 2, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[23] Eminger, "History of the Woman's Club," 4. See Box 1, Folder 1 of the Woman's Press Club Collection.

[24] Lorena E. Schellenbach, "Some Famous Literary Men and Women of Cincinnati: Why Rhapsodize Over Eastern Shrines When We Have Here Those of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Alice and Phoebe Cary, William Lytle, Thomas Buchanan Read and Many Others?" *The Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, no date given, Box 1, Folder 11, the WPC Collection, 1888-1979. *The Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, no date given. Found in the WPC archives in the Cincinnati Historical Society Library.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Swisher, "Just Remembering," 1. Box One, Folder One, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[27] Ibid.

[28] WPC Constitution, in the yearbooks in the archives in Cincinnati. Box 2, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[29] Mrs. Virginia G. Ellard, "Practical Results of Women's Clubs," a loose clipping with no indication of either date or publication in the WPC archives, first box with materials circa 1930-1939. See Folder One, Box One of the WPC Collection, 1988-1979. Blair notes that, like Cleveland, the editor of the *Ladies Home Journal*, Edward Bok, worried that women might forsake their domestic temples to pursue pedestrian club work. See *Club Woman As Feminist*, 105.

[30] Ellard, "Practical Results of Women's Clubs," See Folder One, Box One of the WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[31] Goss, *Cincinnati--The Queen City*, vol. 2, 521. Goss used present-tense verbs, which read awkwardly in the paragraph, and so I changed them to the past tense.

[32] Several clippings from the 1940's scrapbooks in Box 3 of the WPC Collection, 1988-1979 mention WPC stars winning the Ted Malone radio prize for best poems. Malone read verses from Annette Patton Cornell, Jessie Farnham and Gladys McKee Iker on his show over the NBC radio network. Later, Malone published these poems in a book.

[33] Mary Hoge Bruce, "Cincinnati Woman's Press Club--Decade of the Forties," page 4-5, essay read at the 75th anniversary on Oct. 5, 1963, pp. 4-5, Box Three, Scrapbook for 1953-62, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[34] Goss, *Cincinnati--The Queen City*, vol. 2, 521.

[35] The description of Julie Caroline O'Hara is from "Just Remembering," a retrospective of the WPC's history presented by former club president Miss Phyllis Swisher on Oct. 4, 1958, to commemorate the WPC's diamond anniversary. See Box Three, Scrapbook for 1953-62, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979. Also, In *Cincinnati--the Queen City*, vol. 1, 303, Goss said O'Hara wrote newspaper features about unique and unusual things she witnessed abroad.

[36] Swisher, Box One, Folder One, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[37] Leona F. Westland, "Eulogy for Helen D. Berning," and the obituary from the *Albuquerque Journal*, "Helen D. Berning Dies at Age of 79" are in Box 3, 1967-1971 Scrapbook, WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Goss, *Cincinnati--The Queen City*, vol. 2, 521.

[40] Clark D. Firestone, poetry editor, "Cincinnati Verse Gives Queen City High Rank," *The Cincinnati Times-Star*, 25 April 1940.

[41] Kilmer, *Fear of Sinking*, 42-44.

[42] The Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County keep a card in the subject index, which refers patrons looking under "Cincinnati Newspaperwomen's Association (CNWA)" to see Clubs, Woman's Press Club. The archives only contain sketchy references to the CNWA. Perhaps, the minutes and records from the first twenty years of the WPC explain the double name, but those documents have disappeared.

[43] "Oldest Newspaperwoman, Poet, Succumbs at 92," 5 May 1949. The name of the newspaper is not indicated. Also, see "Newspaper Woman's Poem Again Spotlighted," no date or newspaper indicated. Both are in Box Three, 1949-1950 Scrapbook, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979. Goss praises Fitch's versatility, noting that she published poems, essays, character sketches, feature stories, and motto cards as well as gave lectures. See: *Cincinnati--The Queen City*, vol. 2, 520.

[44] "Famous Kidnaping Case Recalled by Cincinnati Woman," *Cincinnati Times-Star*, 28 Aug. 1930. The clipping in Box One, WPC 1930 Scrapbook. See, Box One of the WPC Collection, 1988-1979. It contains circa 1930-1939 material.

[45] Clark D. Firestone, poetry editor, "Cincinnati Verse Gives Queen City High Rank," *The Cincinnati Times-Star*, 25 April 1940. Box Three, 1938-1940 Scrapbook, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[46] Firestone's column "Just in Passing," undated in the WPC Archives 1940's scrapbooks. Box Three, 1938-1940 Scrapbook, the WPC Collection, 1988-1979.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy," 81.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 43.

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[51] Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy," 81.

[52] Ibid. Burt does not mention self-sacrifice directly, but her comments suggest it, and I found examples of self-sacrifice in my research on the Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati.

[53] Zuilen, *The Life Cycle of Magazines.*

[54] Wolseley, *The Changing Magazine*, 5.

[55] Ibid., 10.

[56] Theodore Peterson, "The Troubled Giant," *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), especially 198-199.

[57] Martin Hogan Jr., "Press Club: That's All She Wrote: Woman's Group Bringing to an End 100-Year-Old Entity," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, 14 Aug. 1988, p. B-4 Metro in Box Three, 1975-1988 Scrapbook, the WPC Collection, 1962-1988.

[58] Goss, *Cincinnati--The Queen City*, 520.

[59] Undated letter signed "Pollyanna" and placed on stationary containing an emblem for WPC above 1888-1988 and closing with the phrase, "until Oct. 16." See: Folder 10, WPC Collection, 1962-1988.

[60] Annette Patton Cornell, verse card, found in the WPC archives.

History

Everyone's Child:

The Kathy Fiscus story as a defining event in local television news.

Terry Anzur, School of Journalism
Annenberg School for Communication
University of Southern California

Contact: Terry Anzur
USC/Annenberg School for Communication
3502 Watt Way, ASC 307A
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0281
Phone: (213) 740-1519
Fax: (626) 351-6111
E-Mail: anzur@usc.edu

Biographical note: Terry Anzur is an assistant professor in the School of Journalism at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California. A former co-anchor of KTLA News @ Ten, she conducted this research as a fellow of the Southern California Studies Center and wishes to acknowledge SC2 for its financial support.

Everyone's Child:

The Kathy Fiscus story as a defining event in television news

Abstract

This article examines the first live television coverage from the scene of a breaking news story to reach an audience of significant size: the 1949 attempted rescue of 3-year-old Kathy Fiscus from an abandoned well near Los Angeles, California. The KTLA-TV telecast is reconstructed through newspaper articles, eyewitness accounts and interviews with surviving participants. This broadcast transformed public perception of commercial television as an essential source of information and defined audience expectations of live TV news.

Everyone's Child:

The Kathy Fiscus story as a defining event in television news

Expanded Abstract

This article examines the first live television coverage from the scene of a breaking news story to reach an audience of significant size: the 1949 attempted rescue of 3-year-old Kathy Fiscus from an abandoned well near Los Angeles, California. The 27 1/2-hour broadcast on KTLA-TV is reconstructed through newspaper articles, eyewitness accounts and interviews with surviving participants. This detailed narrative provides a basis for placing the event in the context of broadcast journalism history, transforming the public perception of commercial television from an entertaining novelty to an essential source of information. The telecast also defined audience expectations of live TV news involving an unusual and unexpected event, with unobstructed pictures and an unpredictable outcome. In addition, the coverage must be perceived to have an underlying social significance -- and not merely a commercial motive -- to be viewed as being in the public interest.

Everyone's Child:

The Kathy Fiscus story as a defining event in television news.

The tragic story of 3-year-old Kathy Fiscus was the first local news event to be broadcast live, as it happened, to an American television audience of significant size. The 1949 coverage documented efforts to rescue a child who was trapped in an abandoned well behind her home in San Marino, California. However, this television milestone presents a formidable challenge to the journalism historian. It took place a decade before the availability of videotape, and the actual broadcasts on Los Angeles TV stations KTLA and KTTV were not preserved on kinescopes. Only a partial sound recording and limited newsreel film footage of the scene have survived. While it is difficult to reconstruct the content of the actual telecasts, it is clear that television made history simply by being there to cover the story as it unfolded.

Post-World War II audiences in the U.S. were accustomed to the immediacy of live radio reports and the delayed visual elements of newsreel footage that appeared in movie theaters. The Fiscus story presented most viewers with their first opportunity to hear *and* see breaking news, demonstrating television's unique power to transport a mass audience to the scene of an emotional, real-life drama. The coverage also transformed television from an entertaining novelty to a necessary source of news and information, as thousands rushed to the stores to buy television receivers. The socio-economic status of the white, middle class Fiscus family and the blue-collar rescuers enhanced the story's appeal to the same consumers being courted as potential buyers of TV sets.

But Kathy Fiscus was everyone's child. The struggle to save her life transcended questions of race and class. It was unusual and unexpected, with unobstructed pictures and an unpredictable outcome, establishing four factors that have defined the essential elements of compelling live television news from its beginnings to the present day. In addition, a live telecast must also be perceived to have an underlying significance -- and not merely a commercial motive -- to be viewed as being in the public interest.

The present work is an attempt to reconstruct the events leading up to KTLA's live, 27 1/2-hour telecast of the Fiscus drama, the actual program, and public reaction to the coverage as a basis for discussion of its historical context as a defining moment in television journalism.

Background and Literature Review

KTLA's pioneering role in early TV has been documented by Sherrie Mazingo[1] and Mark J. Williams.[2] In his dissertation on early Los Angeles television, Williams relies on a KTLA-centered description of the Fiscus telecast and places it in the overall context of early TV programming.[3] This analysis builds on an earlier thesis by Susan Wilbur, detailing the development of commercial television in Los Angeles prior to 1952.[4] Michael Ritchie's pre-history of television in the U.S. also mentions KTLA's early news remotes.[5] Craig Allen cites the rivalry between KTLA and KTTV as "the first TV 'news war.'"[6] In the existing literature, the emphasis on the novelty of live, on-scene TV news in the 1940s has eclipsed such issues as the accuracy and fairness of the coverage and its impact on the development of broadcast journalism.

The KTLA telecast beginning on Saturday, April 9, 1949 and concluding just before 9 p.m. the following day, has been highly mythologized through the station's self-promotion of its pioneering role as the first commercial television outlet west of the Mississippi.[7] The KTLA-centered history ignores the participation of KTTV and most other media, while KTLA is missing from newspaper accounts in the Los Angeles Times. The newspaper promoted only KTTV, which it co-owned with CBS.

The televised tragedy launched the careers of KTLA announcers Stan Chambers and Bill Welsh, who emerged as two of the most recognized local broadcasters in Los Angeles. Both men recalled their roles in the Ficsus coverage in numerous published interviews. Chambers describes it at length in his memoirs.[8] In contrast to the very public recollections of these announcers and the many viewers who remembered watching the live coverage, Kathy's family and most of her would-be rescuers shunned publicity. Klaus Landsberg, who directed the KTLA remote, died of cancer in 1956 at age 40, further limiting the historical record.

The Fiscus story was not the first news remote to be broadcast live on KTLA, nor was it the first time television had brought scenes of death and destruction into Southern California living rooms. In 1933, experimental station W6XAO (which would later become CBS-owned KNXT) broadcast rapid-process film of the aftermath of the Long Beach earthquake, allowing a handful of television viewers to see the destruction while access to the disaster area was still restricted.[9] In 1947, KTLA crews were on the scene of the worst industrial accident in Los Angeles history, a chemical plant explosion that left 17 people dead. It is widely considered to have been the first live remote from the scene of a breaking news story. But its impact was limited to the estimated 350 sets in use at the time.[10] By 1949, there were at least 20,000 television receivers in Los Angeles, making the story of the little girl in the well the first real-life drama to be seen by an audience of significant size.[11] Kathy's plight attracted worldwide radio and newspaper coverage for almost 24 hours before the live television signal was established. The broadcast pre-dated the establishment of the coast-to-coast cable in 1951 and was seen only in Southern California. Television coverage alone did not make the Fiscus story important, but the story made live television coverage important.

The Fiscus story also marked the first competitive, live TV coverage by rival stations in a single television market.[12] Because of a 1948-1952 freeze on new licenses imposed by the Federal Communications Commission, most American cities had only one or two television stations. Los Angeles boasted a total of seven TV channels by the end of 1949. As an independent station owned by the Paramount movie studio, KTLA Channel 5 could not rely on network programming to fill its airtime. Its rivalry with KTTV intensified in 1951, when CBS purchased another Los Angeles station, leaving the Times-owned Channel 11 without a network affiliation. The two independent stations, funded by the deep pockets of a movie studio and a newspaper, committed resources to live news remotes on an ongoing basis. All stations aired some news in order to meet an FCC licensing requirement to serve the public interest,[13] but these programs were little more than radio on television, sometimes with newsreel film footage.[14] By pre-empting regular programming for live news coverage, an independent station like KTLA could stand out in the nation's most competitive television market and build viewer loyalty, particularly in times of community crisis. Although newscasts would not become reliably profitable until the 1960s,[15] the Fiscus story showed that live coverage of breaking news could define a station's image.

The following narrative is composed of eyewitness accounts and contemporary newspaper reports archived in the KTLA library.[16] The rescue effort was also recalled in articles written for anniversary memorials or prompted by the televised 1987 rescue of a Texas child trapped in a well. The author conducted interviews with Stan Chambers, KTLA engineer John Silva, rescuer Clyde Harp and Landsberg's former wife, Evelyn DeWolfe Nadel. Kathy's mother, Alice Fiscus, answered the author's questions in writing. Any quoted material is from a published source or is the exact wording as remembered by an actual participant.

The Accident

The Fiscus family rented a yellow, wood-frame farmhouse at 2590 Robles Avenue in suburban San Marino, 11 miles northeast of downtown Los Angeles. Shortly before 5 p.m. on April 8, 1949, Alice Fiscus was visiting with her sister, Jeanette Lyon. From the kitchen window, Alice could see Kathy and her nine-year-old sister, Barbara, playing in the vacant lot behind the house with their two cousins Stanley, 9, and Gus, 5.

[Insert Figure 1 about here: photo of Kathy Fiscus.]

The children reached the fence that marked the boundary of the play area and turned around. Alice looked away for a moment. When she glanced outside again, the children were halfway across the lot and Kathy was missing.[17] A search turned up no trace of her. Alice telephoned police and her husband's office. San Marino police officers and firefighters joined the search. About 200 yards from the house, the younger cousin, Gus, heard whimpering that seemed to be coming from under the ground. The boy pointed to a hole, about 14 inches in diameter, nearly overgrown by grass and weeds. Ironically, Kathy's father worked for the California Water and Telephone Company, the utility that dug the well in which his daughter was now imprisoned. He had lobbied the state legislature for a bill to cap California's many abandoned wells.

The First News Report

The first reporter on the scene was Bill Johnston of the Los Angeles Times, a "combination man," covering the San Gabriel Valley with a notebook and a 1910-vintage speed-graphic camera. Johnston would later write to his parents, "I saw a few cars parked and housewives standing in front of their homes, aprons on, looking in the direction of the field."[18] At 5:20 p.m. Johnston joined Kathy's parents and a small group of people next to the hole. From below, he could hear a child's muffled screams.

"I have never heard a more heart-breaking sound," he wrote. "The father kept moving toward and away from the hole, standing up, sitting down, lying flat with his head in the hole, standing up, walking away, rubbing his hands and his head, his face suddenly contorting in an effort to keep his emotion from overflowing." Johnston interviewed Dave Fiscus and filed his story. It wouldn't be an exclusive for long.

The Rescue Effort Begins

Emergency crews and volunteers converged on the field. "It was frantic but well organized," Alice would recall. A hose was lowered into the hole and Pasadena firefighters took turns hand cranking a pump that would provide fresh air for the trapped child to breathe. Kathy's pediatrician joined her parents next to the hole. Dr. Robert J. McCullock heard the "brave little voice... like a child shut in a dark closet. There wasn't pain in it, just bewilderment."[19] Firemen dangled a rope into the pipe but Kathy lost her grip when they attempted to pull her up.

Police put out a casting call to movie studios and Hollywood agents for anyone who might fit into the narrow pipe. Among those who volunteered were child actors, jockeys from the nearby racetrack, circus midgets and even the little boy from the "Call for Philip Morris" cigarette advertisements. But rescuers feared that anyone crawling into the well also might be trapped -- or cut by corroded surface of the metal casing. By 6 p.m., they decided to dig a parallel shaft and estimated that the little girl was about 100 feet down.

News Coverage Intensifies

Dave Fiscus stayed at the hole while Alice rested in a car parked nearby. As reporters and photographers converged on the brown sedan, neighbors and relatives tried to shield the distraught mother from the press. Alice changed cars. Johnston saw a man kick a photographer in the stomach.

"Mrs. Fiscus asked me to help the family," Johnston would later write. "I explained the situation to her and told her…(the photographers) had a job to do and that the story had become much bigger than any one of us." He circulated a family photo of Kathy and Barbara among the newsmen. Alice Fiscus would later remember only the politeness of the reporters who spoke to her and would downplay any personal knowledge of rude conduct by the press corps.

At 6:30 p.m. a camera was lowered into the hole in an attempt to document Kathy's position, but the lens fogged. A microphone dropped into the well shaft picked up only silence. Kathy's doctor reassured her parents that the little girl must be unconscious. As night fell, the digging was illuminated by klieg lights donated from the movie studios. The New York Times ran the story on its front page.

Television Gets Involved

Klaus Landsberg, the 33-year-old general manager of television station KTLA, began following the Fiscus story on Friday evening[20] and decided to attempt live coverage. A TV pioneer in his native Germany, Landsberg had helped televise Hitler's 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. When the Nazis classified his work with radar and sonar as a military secret, he fled Germany and arrived in the United States in time to help stage NBC's first public demonstration of television at the 1939 World's Fair in New York. After working briefly for DuMont, Landsberg was hired by Paramount Pictures to start a West Coast station.[21]

In 1942 he set up an experimental TV station, W6XYZ, on the Paramount Studios lot in Hollywood and produced local programs for a sparse audience, mostly technical types from the film and aircraft industries who were savvy enough to build their own receivers. After the war, the station moved to a converted garage just off the Paramount lot. W6XYZ became commercial KTLA, on January 22, 1947.[22] The first manufactured TV sets were just beginning to show up in appliance stores. At $400 for a 10-inch black-and-white screen, sales were slow.[23]

No one in Los Angeles expected to see live, breaking news on television in the 1940s. Early programs were telecast live for a few hours per day and originated from a studio or a planned event such as a ballgame or the Rose Parade.[24] But Landsberg, as one TV writer noted, "believed in television as a window on the world and began bringing the world in, live, to living rooms."[25] KTLA's live report from the scene of a deadly chemical plant explosion on February 20, 1947, had shown that news could be covered from a remote truck on short notice, as long as the location was in a direct line of sight to the station's transmitter. It was located atop a 6,000-foot peak on Mount Wilson in the San Gabriel Mountains, 18 miles from Los Angeles. By 1949, KTLA's clear, black-and-white picture could be seen in homes from Santa Barbara to San Diego.[26] The scene of the Fiscus accident, only a few miles due south of Mount Wilson, offered a straight shot from the child in the hole to the transmitter on the peak.

On Saturday morning, April 9, Landsberg's staff arrived at the scene in two panel trucks loaded with transmission equipment and two image orthicon cameras. With no prepared scripts, Landsberg also needed two announcers who could wing it. He selected veteran sports announcer Bill Welsh, who was described by one TV writer as "probably the fastest man in the business on his mental feet... (never) known to be stuck for an ad lib."[27] Landsberg also called Stan Chambers, a Navy veteran who had joined the station fresh out of college in 1947. Chambers excelled at an improvised man-on-the-street interview show called "Meet Me in Hollywood." Neither Welsh nor Chambers was considered an experienced newsman.

The cameras would take hours to warm up and no one knew how long the tubes would hold out. The cameras were fired up each evening for a few hours of live programming and then shut off, never operating for more than 36 hours in a week. Although there was a direct line of sight to Mount Wilson, there was no phone line to communicate with the transmitter engineers. The broadcast was further delayed by a power failure. Remote supervisor John Silva noticed the arrival of trucks from a new commercial station, KTTV.[28]

By now the rescue shaft was more than feet deep. An unemployed machinist named O.A. Kelly cut into the rusty well pipe. "I can see something that looks like a dress, but it's too far down to be certain," he yelled to the workers on top. "That's about it. I can't see the little girl." Loose dirt rained down on Kelly's head.

"Let's get him out of there!" someone yelled. The unstable hole was too dangerous. They needed a new rescue plan.

[Insert Figure 2 about here. Map of Scene.]

The Telecast Begins

Reporters and rescuers regrouped around a second hole on the opposite side of the well shaft. This time, a 30-inch pipe casing would protect the rescuers from dirt slippage. The TV crew had a continuous wide shot from a camera on top of a truck while a second camera on the ground had a long cable enabling the crew to roam the site for interviews and close-ups. Having two different shots also gave the director a backup if one camera failed. But there was still no phone line to reach the transmitter. John Silva scribbled a note and held it in front of a camera: "Please put this on the air if you see it at all."[29] The men on the mountain got the message and a picture appeared on a monitor in the remote truck. KTLA would be on the air first.

"We're all ready!" Landsberg announced as he slid into the director's seat.[30]

"What should we say?" Welsh asked, realizing this was nothing like the wrestling matches or baseball games he had covered before.

"Pretend it's a sporting event and give them the play-by-play," Landsberg advised. "I'll have these monitors in front of me to show what is going on and I'll tell you over the earphones what the camera is showing and you just describe it."

Landsberg turned to Stan and said, "Just watch Bill."

At 5:30 p.m. Saturday, more than 24 hours after Kathy tumbled into the well, KTLA finally was on the air with the pictures of the rescue scene. Landsberg pre-empted all regular programming including commercials. Standoffish at first, the workers soon accepted the cameras and the men with the TV microphones as part of the team effort. One of the engineers explained to Stan, "We're going to hammer that casing about a hundred feet into the ground to a point below where Kathy is trapped. We have to get out all of the dirt inside the casing, then go down to the bottom and cut a vertical tunnel across, shore it up with timbers and try to dig across to the well pipe where we can get her." [Insert Figure 3 about here. Map of rescue plan]

Welsh and Chambers took turns at the microphone and adopted an optimistic tone. Chambers reminded viewers, "Kathy's mother heard her crying in the well, right after she fell in. Her rescuers believe that she is unconscious, oblivious to what is going on."[31] Under Landsberg's direction, the cameras focused repeatedly on the fireman turning the hand crank of the air pump. It became a symbol of hope that Kathy was still breathing. As darkness fell, Stan stopped identifying the shot and let the picture speak for itself. Forty years later, Stan would remember the monotonous, black and white images of the workers known as "sandhogs" and their machines:

> At the center of (the) ten-inch screen is a derrick-like piece of heavy equipment illuminated by banks of bright lights. It pounds away on the top of a large cylinder casing, trying to drive it deeper into the ground.
>
> The progress is painstakingly slow. Although the earth shakes as the pile driver hammers away, the huge casing barely budges. One of the volunteer sandhogs, steps up to the top of the casing, balances himself on a bucket hanging by a cable and then is slowly lowered down to the bottom of the shaft. He discovers that the casing has hit an underground rock formation, and with his small pick begins chipping away at the boulders.[32]

TV Makes an Impact

Kathy's older sister, Barbara, was spending the night a few miles away in Temple City at the home of Don Metz, a family friend who had a daughter about Barbara's age. The Metz's had a television and their living room was crowded with friends, neighbors and people they barely knew.[33]

Across town in Sherman Oaks, Myrtle Chizum and her husband started watching TV with friends who had come over for dinner. Neighbors knocked on the door and asked if they could watch. Restaurants and bars with television stayed open all night and those without TV closed early. One viewer, Mrs. W.C. Young, called the KTLA switchboard to say that she was counting the buckets of dirt coming out of the well and was up to 191.

The KTLA announcers mentioned they had arrived without their coats, not knowing they would be here all night. Minutes later, strangers were driving to the scene with overcoats, jackets and sweaters. Another man trucked in 70 gallons of hot coffee and stacks of fresh donuts. Housewives brought homemade cookies, cakes and pies.

The Harp family on Longden Avenue in Temple City had the only TV on the block, a 10-inch RCA model that cost $450. Bread truck driver Clyde Harp, 25, figured that it would entertain his five kids. They were all watching the KTLA broadcast along with their mom, their grandparents, their Aunt Jo and a rotating group of neighbors. Clyde had worked as a cesspool digger as a teenager and shook his head at the frustrating setbacks in the race to reach Kathy. "I realized the way they were going about it was wrong," he would later say. "They were digging with big machinery and they needed to do it by hand."[34] He slipped out of the house without telling anyone he was going to join the digging crew. He wasn't alone. Before it was all over, 1100 men would volunteer.

Reporter Cecil Smith had joined the group of newsmen covering the story for the Los Angeles Times. He needed a change of clothes and some rest. It was nearly 3 a.m. Sunday as he drove home along Wilshire Boulevard and saw something he never expected. "In front of appliance and music stores," he wrote, "I saw crowds of people, standing in the chill, damp, predawn night, staring at (TV) sets behind plate-glass windows that were carrying the Fiscus story." Smith, who would go on to become the Times' TV columnist, later recalled, "That was the first time I became aware of the potential of television."[35]

Newspapers in Sweden, England and Australia held the presses for the latest on the trapped child. Callers jammed newspaper switchboards in Salt Lake City and Chicago. One man poured out his heart to the operator at the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette: "I'm the father of three little ones and this story about poor Kathy really hit me."[36] Only in Southern California could people share these emotions in front of their televisions, watching as men who dug cesspools and sewers for a living became folk heroes in the race to save a little girl.

"You talked to the workers coming up," Stan remembered later. "You described the digging. People came in and volunteered. They were lowered in buckets and the whole evening all you saw was a bucket come up and dump its load. These people would go down and dig for half an hour or 45 minutes -- perhaps a dozen of them -- and that was all you saw, but every time someone would come up, he was completely exhausted, sweating, just overwhelmed by the situation."[37]

Rescue Drama is Televised

KTLA lowered a microphone into the shaft and picked up the sound of "Big Bill" Yancey singing as he scraped away the sand and chipped at the rocks. Cheering broke out as Yancey emerged from the hole, covered with sweat and dirt. The 38-year-old cesspool contractor staggered to the first aid area and collapsed onto a cot, all within view of the cameras. Interviewed by Chambers, he told what it was like in the rescue shaft, where a dangling thermometer measured the temperature at 90 degrees.

"Hot down there, really hot," Yancey said, munching on a sandwich. "The big trouble was the rocks, big as your head, some of them, and hard to handle in that space. I could have stayed down there longer, but I was tired and I figured that a fresh man could do the work faster."[38]

By dawn Sunday, the buckets were bringing up wet sand. Herb Herpel, an ex-navy Seabee, entered the pit. KTLA's microphone picked up a stream of swear words and, suddenly, a scream.

"I've hit water," Herpel yelled to the surface." It's coming in on all sides. Pull me up!" Rescuers hoisted Herb above the flooded area. "That's far enough," he shouted over the microphone. "Let me check this water level… it's just oozing in… plenty of mud… but we'll just have to haul it out." Television viewers saw and heard every heart-pounding moment of this close call. The rescue shaft was now 100 feet deep and the water seeped in just as the men were digging the lateral tunnel to Kathy. Was the child under water? Pumping equipment, 120 feet from the hole, began churning at full capacity. The water filled up a nearby reservoir and had to be diverted to a second catch basin.

The sandhogs worked in teams, one man digging while another filled the bucket. Clyde Harp took his turn in the shaft, swearing like a trooper but not because of the water, sand and mud. He had just sent up a bucket of tools and the guy on the surface had dumped the tools back into the shaft, narrowly missing Clyde's head.

"Quit swearing down there," yelled Mark Nottingham, Clyde's friend and former boss. "You're on TV!"[39]

Clyde had to be helped to a stretcher when he finally returned to the surface. Bill Welsh asked him why he had volunteered. "Over in Temple City where I live," Clyde said, "I have a girl 6 weeks old, a girl 2 years old, a boy 3, a girl, 5, and a boy 7." Watching on the TV at home, the children recognized their daddy.

People in the crowd whispered that the workers could hear Kathy crying. But when it was Whitey Blickensderfer's turn to go below, all he could hear was the loud dripping of water, "like bullets hitting the iron casing," he told reporters. He had to be pulled up right away. The water was rising too fast and the mud was up to his thighs. Blickensderfer returned to the pit. . The 43-year-old ex-sandhog was unemployed and drove across the Southland from his home in Reseda to volunteer, despite a painful hernia he could not afford to have repaired.

Between interviews with the sandhogs, Chambers kept warm in the cab of a pick-up truck. He was still narrating the pictures that Landsberg described over the earphones. Workmen were digging a lateral tunnel from the rescue shaft to the pipe that held Kathy, only about five feet away. Two workers had to be rescued when the tunnel roof collapsed. It would have to be shored up with lumber, causing another delay. "This is ridiculous," Stan thought, wondering if anyone was still watching. The tube cameras that were only supposed to last a few hours were still transmitting TV pictures after being on all night.[40] [Insert Figure 4 about here. Photo of television crew at scene.]

An Emotional Ending

Palm Sunday churchgoers prayed for Kathy. The crowd at the fence swelled to more than 5,000.[41] Years later, Kathy's mother would credit the TV coverage for keeping the crowd from growing even larger because thousands more were watching at home. By late Sunday afternoon, the KTLA microphone picked up the screeching of a pneumatic drill. It was obvious to Stan Chambers that workers were getting very close. Suddenly, no one wanted to be interviewed.

"Officials are grim and some are testy," Chambers would later write. "For the first time, the microphone in the casing is turned off. It is our last official contact with the men below. No reason is given, but it quickens fears that things have turned for the worse."[42]

At 6:03 p.m. Sunday, O.A. Kelly and Whitey Blickensderfer could see the child's body tightly wedged just below them, in mud. Chief engineer Raymond Hill refused to announce whether the child was dead or alive. The workers called for ropes, hooks and a can of grease, anything they could use to free the child from the pipe. Kathy's parents came out of the house and were escorted to a waiting police car. Officers cleared the streets leading to St. Luke's hospital.

A white canvas bag was lowered into the hole and raised again, empty. For the first time since Friday evening, firefighters stopped cranking the air pump. Blickensderfer emerged from the shaft and directed the operations on the surface for as long as he could. Exhausted and in pain, he was taken to Huntington Hospital. Next out was Kelly, who stumbled to a first-aid cot. He had touched the girl but was unable to free her legs. He still could not tell if the child was dead, or simply unconscious. At 7:20 p.m. the firefighters resumed their duties at the air pump.

One hour later, Kathy's pediatrician, was lowered into the shaft by a parachute harness and pulled up again. Bill Welsh conferred with Los Angeles County Sheriff Eugene Biscailuz. Welsh later said the sheriff asked him to Kathy's family. By 8:45 p.m. her parents had left the police car and returned to their house.

Alice Fiscus remembered hearing of Kathy's death from the family doctor. There was no TV in the Fiscus home and Kathy's mother could not confirm Welsh's often-repeated claim that he was chosen to break the news to family members because they had seen him on TV.

"I told them I was sorry to be the one to tell them that little Kathy was not coming home again," Welsh would later tell interviewers. "To tell a whole room full of aunts uncles, cousins and know that what you have to tell them will emotionally impact them is worse than reporting the news because you saw your audience."[43]

At 8:58 p.m., Dr. Paul Hanson stood in front of the TV cameras. "Ladies and gentlemen, Kathy is dead and has apparently been dead since she was last heard speaking Friday," he announced. "The family wishes to thank one and all for your heroic efforts to try to save our child." He asked the crowd at the fence to show their respect for the family by leaving the area: "If this had been your child, we are sure you would not want a crowd remaining at the scene of the tragedy."[44] The Associated Press flashed a one-line bulletin: "They found Kathy Fiscus dead."[45]

For Stan Chambers, the story was written on the faces of the tired and dirty men who had toiled for more than 50 hours: "The brave men, who worked desperately to reach her, broke down and cried over the death of the little girl they never knew but now would never forget."[46]

Welsh took his last turn at the microphone. He spoke of the "unpleasant duty" of notifying the family but refused to reveal further details because it would be in "very poor taste." Chambers brought the television coverage to a close, 27 1/2 hours after it began:

> "And now it is 9 o'clock Sunday night, probably the longest television broadcast in history. And we're sorry that this is the way we have to sign off, because we always hoped that we would have had a happy ending. We want to thank you for staying with us during these long, long hours, and for being with us. I know the family feels the same way, and appreciates the sorrow as you've expressed. And so, ladies and gentlemen, we leave San Marino... hoping to have given you the service that we wanted to. And now we return you to our studio."[47]

Welsh saw no reason to stay on the air any longer. "Television was a little more sensitive to people's feelings in those days," he would later recall. "We did not stay on the air to watch them bring up the body."[48]

The telecast had been over for nearly an hour when "Big Bill" Yancey brought up Kathy's body. Raymond Hill vowed to clean up the site, so that by dawn on Monday "no one will know there has been any activity here but plowing."[49] An autopsy would list the official cause of death as suffocation.[50]On April 13, 1949, Kathy Fiscus was buried in her mother's hometown, Chula Vista, California, under a grave marker that reads, "one little girl who brought the world together -- for a moment."

Discussion

The impact of the Ficsus telecast can partially be explained by its contrast with regularly scheduled local news programs in 1949, which featured studio-bound announcers reading wire copy or narrating dated film. Klaus Landsberg recognized KTLA's technical achievement in bringing viewers the rescue effort as it happened, scooping the newspapers, providing visuals that radio could not match. His former wife recalled that when he returned home from the telecast, tired and unshaven, he remarked, "This is tragic, but this is also television history."[51]

Columnist Lou Larkin noted in the Los Angeles Mirror:

> "Problems of every nature beset the station's mobile unit crew. Power shortages, lack of a direct line connection, plus a hundred minor difficulties were overcome by personnel. Many obstacles were of a kind never met in TV history. The station's working staff, from director Klaus Landsberg down to the last technician, rate a public pat on the back."[52]

An editorial in Daily Variety noted, "Klaus Landsberg and his boys will never realize the important job they accomplished for the advancement of TV by the spot news reporting and visualization they did."[53] There is ample evidence, however, to suggest that KTLA was eager to build on this accomplishment, dispatching its cameras to the scene of a dam collapse in Santa Monica only days later. KTLA's continued emphasis on remotes, including live telecasts of atomic bomb tests in the early 1950s, would lead Silva to develop the nation's first TV news helicopter in 1958. Two decades before the development of more portable video equipment in the 1970s that would allow "live" coverage to eventually dominate local newscasts, Landsberg said:

> ...your mobile unit, even if you have only one, is ten times as valuable as three film news services... local news coverage isn't important on film. It's important if it's live because, again, you're taking people there. You are really furnishing a window; but if it's canned it shows up as canned on television. And you can't get away from it. The audience doesn't want it; they don't like it.[54]

The broadcast also created a bond between the audience and the television newsmen. This new type of stranger in the living room was not a faceless radio voice or newspaper byline, not merely an entertainer or reader of news copy. The TV newsman was a visible surrogate for the viewer at home, reporting live from the scene, asking questions and transmitting information to make sense of the pictures.

"The public was so moved by this event that they felt they wanted to share everything with me because I had been their surrogate at the scene of the rescue effort," Welsh said. "From that time on, the public realized that television was much more than 'home movies.' It was a thing with a heart and a soul and it was going to have a tremendous impact on their lives."[55] Welsh's fame grew to the point where received a "permanent contract" from rival KTTV in 1951. He specialized in wrestling, Rose Parades and other live events and considered scripted newscasts "boring."[56]

Stan Chambers' popularity endured during an extraordinary 50-year career at KTLA. "The favorable reaction was so great that I became a mini-celebrity," he wrote. his memoirs. "It was a different breed of celebrity, one who was a television news reporter. I got the credit although it was television that really made everything happen."[57]

Viewers also bonded with the heroes who tried to save Kathy. A doctor volunteered to operate on Blickensderfer's hernia, free of charge. The mayor of San Marino and the Chamber of Commerce set up a fund for public contributions to reward the all of the men who "without thought of compensation and with utter disregard of their own comfort and safety, applied their talents and strength to a monumental battle with death."[58] One worker used his share of the money to buy a TV set for little girls in a tuberculosis sanitarium in nearby Duarte. The children named their television "Kathy."[59]

Many Southland residents did not know, until they read about it in the Los Angeles Times, that there was a second television station on the air for much of the rescue effort. KTTV, jointly owned by the newspaper and CBS, carried a live signal from three cameras on the scene beginning at 6 p.m. Saturday. By the time announcers Walter Carle and Bob Purcell signed off the air at 9 p.m. Sunday, they had been on the air almost as long as KTLA. The Times duly reported television's "fire trial," but without even mentioning Klaus Landsberg and his crew, setting up a news rivalry between the two stations that would continue for decades.[60] According to Stan Chambers, KTTV had been on the air for only three months and its picture was of a lesser quality, leading viewers to prefer KTLA. Except for the Times, contemporary reviewers also favored KTLA. Daily Variety praised Chambers, Welsh and the KTLA cameramen by name for their clear pictures and dramatic photography "on a par with any big dramatic screen or stage presentation."[61] For Landsberg, live, local news coverage was a way of differentiating his Paramount-owned independent television station from other Los Angeles stations, network programming or even motion pictures.[62] Viewer loyalty was evidenced by the 1949 Hooper index, which showed KTLA with nine of the top ten programs in Los Angeles, ahead of most network fare.[63]

The Times compared TV reporting of the Fiscus tragedy to the story of Floyd Collins, who was trapped in a Kentucky cave in 1925, providing an early test of breaking news coverage on radio.[64] Film director Billy Wilder would later show the potential dark side of such coverage in his 1951 film "Ace in the Hole," starring Kirk Douglas as an unethical newspaperman. The reporter tells a man trapped in a cave that he will be as famous as Floyd Collins. The reporter then delays the rescue effort and distorts the story to maximize public interest and further his own career. TV trucks and announcers arrive as the scene literally becomes a carnival, implying that broadcasters were equally capable of exploiting a tragedy to draw an audience.

In 1949, manufacturers were still selling the public on the idea that television was a necessary appliance in the home. The Mirror's radio-TV columnist pointed out that "TV dealers were quick to rig up sets in store windows," tuned to Channel 5. By that measure, the Fiscus telecast was a huge success, with 100,000 receivers reportedly sold in a single weekend. A San Francisco appliance dealer told a trade publication that the Fiscus story gave consumers "an idea of what TV could really do and many were hooked -- from that point the sales blitz was underway."[65] By January 1950, the number of TV sets in Los Angeles had increased to more than 300,000.

Kathy's socioeconomic status, as the child of a white, upper middle-class suburban family, represented the primary audience for the TV sales pitch, along with the upwardly-mobile blue-collar workers of the post-war era, represented by the rescuers. Although her father's connections in the local construction industry undoubtedly speeded up the rescue effort, newspaper commentators at the time assigned a more noble significance to the event.

An article by Elaine St. Johns in the Los Angeles Mirror compared the solidarity of the rescue effort to the determination that enabled Americans to win World War II:

> ... here the world united over the life of one child. That, perhaps, is the miracle of little Kathy Fiscus. No color, race, creed, union or non-union, rich or poor distinction arose to mar the united efforts of the men and women who fought to save her.
>
> Headlined in foreign lands was this single story that does much to wipe clean a few of the other headlines... headlines written when men united for destruction. Life is not held cheap in America![66]

The same nationalistic and patriotic theme could be found in other American newspapers, including this passage from an editorial in the New York Times:

> The world is overladen with great problems. Two great wars and many smaller ones have cost the lives of multitudes, including little girls as dear to their parents

> as Kathy was. But we still know, even if the mad theorists at the other side of the world do not, that one life -- one tiny life -- is beyond price.[67]

This focus on the larger significance of the event would sustain the Fiscus family through a deeply personal loss. The television reporters kept a respectful distance from Kathy's mother so that she was barely aware of the coverage. Later she realized that:

> The impact from TV and radio was overwhelming. We kept hearing about it from all our friends and gradually the world... it was hard to comprehend until all the mail started coming in by the hundreds... from every country but Russia... I think the TV, where people could actually watch, definitely made the grieving easier for us because most everyone that knew us also knew of what and when things were going on... Explanations were not necessary.[68]

The child's death gave an immediate push to the bill her father had lobbied for. The Daily Mirror reported on April 11 that "the state legislature today rushed passage of a law that will make another such accident impossible." One month after the child's death, California governor Earl Warren signed a bill to require capping of abandoned wells. This was a great comfort to Kathy's mom. "The main thing I've always said is whenever this is brought to light, this reminds people to be very careful and to report anything they see in the line of a hole or an open ditch," she told the Star News.[69]

Scholars have compared the Fiscus story to the sinking of the Titanic or the assassination of John F. Kennedy, as an example of a story that makes people remember where they were at the time they heard of it. For those living in Southern California at the time, the name "Kathy Fiscus" triggers a memory of watching television. Although it did not involve a large number of fatalities or the death of a world leader, the story of one little girl was a defining moment for TV and its audience, the first to combine all of the elements necessary for compelling live coverage. It was:

--Unusual, because children don't become trapped underground everyday;

--Unexpected, because the audience had no warning of the event before they heard about it through media coverage;

--Unobstructed, because there were sufficient pictures and willing interview sources to sustain extended coverage; and

--Unpredictable, because it was a life-or-death situation in which there was hope for survival until the last moment. Note that the coverage abruptly ended as soon as the child's death was officially announced.

It can be argued that the presence of these four factors have defined a series of live television news events, ranging from natural disasters to civil disturbances such as the Watts Riots in 1965 to terrorist acts such as bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995. When a tragic outcome is known, the search for an explanation of the event, such as an investigation to determine the cause of an airline crash, can provide the unpredictable suspense element. These parameters may also explain the public fascination with televised coverage of the OJ Simpson slow-speed chase and other freeway pursuits, which draw huge audiences when they are broadcast live in Los Angeles.

Fifty years after the Fiscus telecast, Los Angeles Times columnist Patt Morrison described Kathy's story as "about the birth of live, on-the-scene television in Los Angeles, about how the car chases and the reporters in front of 'live' courthouses began."[70] Others have resisted this comparison. Another Times columnist, Al Martinez, wrote, "The effort to save a little girl in no way compares to the bloody end of a car chase. One was the celebration of the human spirit, a prayer offered up to preserve a small life. The other ... was electronic voyeurism, violence without involvement."[71]

Martinez referred specifically to a chase in which the fleeing motorist was shot and killed by police, an image disturbing to many viewers. This suggests that a larger significance to society must be demonstrated in order for live coverage to be acclaimed as a public service rather than ratings-driven sensationalism. The broadcast historian can only speculate on whether the public reaction might have been different if the Fiscus coverage had concluded with pictures of the child's dead body, rather than leaving viewers with the final image of the heroic would-be rescuers.

Perhaps the most profound effect of the Kathy Fiscus tragedy was on the audience itself. As one viewer wrote to Stan Chambers, "Until last night, the television set was no more a threat to serenity than any other bit of furniture in the living room. Now you have utterly destroyed this safety forever… you and the epic of which you have been a part of this weekend have made us know what television is for."[72]

The live coverage of the effort to save Kathy Fiscus defined TV news as the window on the world that Klaus Landsberg had envisioned. There could be no guarantee that everyone would always appreciate the view.

Notes

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[1] Sherrie Mazingo, "Home of programming firsts," *Television/Radio Age*, March 1987, A1-A62.

[2] Mark J. Williams, "Paramount's KTLA: The Leading Station in Early Los Angeles Television," in *Television in America: Local Station History from Across the Nation*, ed. Michael D. Murray and Donald G. Godfrey (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1997), 322-334.

[3] Mark J. Williams, "'Remote' Possibilities to Entertaining 'Difference': A Regional Study of the Rise of the Television Industry in Los Angeles, 1930-1952" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1992).

[4] Susan Wilbur, "The History of Television in Los Angeles: 1931-1952" (Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1976). Summarizes articles in *Broadcasting*, 1931-53.

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[5] Michael Ritchie, *Please Stand By: A Prehistory of Television* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 1994), 5 and 123.

[6] Craig M. Allen, *News is People: The Rise of Local TV News and the Fall of News from New York* (Ames, Iowa State University, 2001), 8.

[7] For a typical example see *KTLA West Coast Pioneer*, exhibition catalog, Museum of Broadcasting, 1985.

[8] Stan Chambers, *News at Ten: Fifty Years with Stan Chambers* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1994.) 52-66.

[9] Harry R. Lubcke, "Television on the West Coast," in *We Present Television*, ed. John Porterfield and Kay Reynolds, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1940), 226. Quoted in Williams, *Remote Possibilities*, 53.

[10] Celia Rasmussen, "Deadly Blast a Proving Ground for Live TV." *Los Angeles Times.* Clipping from KTLA archives.

[11] The estimate of 20,000 sets was widely accepted. Another estimate put the total number of sets in Los Angeles at 90,000 with one fourth of them -- or about 20,000 sets -- tuned to the Fiscus coverage on Channel 5.

[12] John Silva, interview by author, Studio City, California, 7 October 2000. He recalls it was the first time KTLA competed in the field with KTTV, which signed on as a commercial station three months earlier.

[13] Communications Act of 1934, Washington, D.C.

[14] For a description of typical local news programming during this period, see Lynn Boyd Hinds, *Broadcasting the Local News: The Early Years of Pittsburgh's KDKA-TV*, (University Park: Pennslyvania State University Press, 1995), 35-60.

[15] Murray and Godfrey, op.cit, xxiv-xxv.

[16] *Los Angeles Times* and *Los Angeles Mirror*, 11 April 1949, KTLA archives. Both papers had extensive coverage of the story, providing the factual basis for this narrative unless noted otherwise.

[17] Alice Fiscus, correspondence with author, August 2000. All Alice Fiscus quotes are from this source unless otherwise noted. She disputes accounts that Kathy climbed into the hole while playing hide and seek.

[18] Bill Johnston, "The Kathy Fiscus Tragedy," *Los Angeles Daily Commerce*, 27 October 1987. Clipping from KTLA archives.

[19] Elaine St. Johns, "Kathy Knew Not Horror, Nor Pain," *Los Angeles Mirror*, 11 April 1949, p. 3.

[20] Evelyn DeWolfe, "The Day Live TV News Coverage Was Born," Los Angeles Times, 17 October 1987, Calendar Section, p.1.

[21] *KTLA West Coast Pioneer*, op. cit. 32.

[22] "Garage TV and How It Grew," Program notes from 52nd Annual Los Angeles Area Academy Awards, 17 June 2000, 24-25.

[23] "50 Years of Television Retailing," *Dealerscope*, Vol. 19 No. 4, April 1977.

[24] Theodore Lynn Nielsen, "A History of Chicago Television News Presentation 1948-1968," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1971), 45. Points out Chicago stations had remote trucks for planned special events, not news.

[25] Cecil Smith, "The TV Scene: Born Yesterday? No, Just Retarded." *Los Angeles Times*, 22 January 1962.Clipping from KTLA archives.

[26] "KTLA's Transmitter Set the Southland Pace," undated mid-1950s KTLA press

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release, from archives.

[27] Descriptions of Welsh and Chambers from "KTLA… the team." *TELE-Views*, 20 January 1950, 11.

[28] Silva interview, op.cit.

[29] The actual handwritten note is in the personal collection of John Silva.

[30] Remarks of Chambers and Welsh at "Remembering Kathy" a memorial attended by the author, San Marino, California, 11 April 1999.

[31] Chambers, *News at Ten*, op cit., 55.

[32] Chambers, "The Kathy Fiscus Telecast Forty Years Ago This Weekend," undated manuscript in KTLA archives, 4. This passage apparently was cut from a version of this article in the *Los Angeles Times*, 8 April 1989, Calendar Section, p.1.

[33] Alice Fiscus, op.cit.

[34] Clyde Harp, correspondence with author, August 2000.

[35] Smith, "Born Yesterday…" op cit.

[36] Chambers, *News at Ten*, op cit., 56.

[37] Hatch, Anthony, "Television's Baptism of Fire," *Los Angeles Times* "Last Page," 8 April 1979, clipping from KTLA archives.

[38] This quote and description of this phase of the rescue from "Five Brave Men Toil Deep in Shaft," *Los Angeles Times*, and supported by "Grimy Guys Were Real Heroes," in the *Mirror*, 11 April 1949, clippings in KTLA archives.

[39] Harp, op. cit.

[40] In his dissertation, op. cit., 134, Williams references Welsh as saying the marathon broadcast made engineers realize that continuous use was better for the cameras and transmitters than the wear and tear of turning them on and off.

[41] This is the most widely accepted figure by all sources. Other crowd estimates ranged as high as 15,000.

[42] Chambers, *News at Ten*, op. cit. 61.

[43] Bill Welsh, interview with Tom Henenkius for unpublished class project, University of Southern California. Manuscript e-mailed to author, 6 July 2000.

[44] Chambers, op. cit. Several versions of this quote appear in various accounts.

[45] Judy Farah, "Current events recall past tragedy," Associated Press, 16 October 1987. Clipping from the *Pomona Progress Bulletin* in KTLA Archives.

[46] Chambers repeated this phrase almost every time he retold the story.

[47] Partial recording of Fiscus coverage, quoted in Williams dissertation, op.cit., 173-174.

[48] Welsh,"Television Grows Up," *Preview* Magazine, 15 August-September 1985, KTLA archives.

[49] "Fast Machines Will Clean Up Death's Arena," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 April 1949, KTLA archives.

[50] "Rescue Fight Ends; Kathy Died Quickly," *Los Angeles Mirror*, 11 April 1949.

[51] DeWolfe, op.cit.

[52] Lou Larkin, "Inside Radio & TV," *Los Angeles Mirror*, 11 April 1949, KTLA archives.

[53] Arthur Unger, "A Plaque for KTLA," *Daily Variety*, 12 April 1949, quoted in Chambers, *News at Ten* ,64, and Williams dissertation, op.cit., 123.

[54] Klaus Landsberg, "Knowing the Pulse of Your TV Audience," in *Twenty Two*

Television Talks (New York, Broadcast Music, Inc., 1953) 139. Quoted in Williams, 182.

[55] Welsh, "Television Grows Up," op. cit.

[56] Myrna Oliver, "Bill Welsh, TV Pioneer and Local Booster, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 February 2000, section B, p.1,3.

[57] Chambers, *News at Ten*, op. cit, 65.

[58] "Donations to Reward Kathy Rescue Crew," 11 April 1949, KTLA archives.

[59] Patt Morrison, "The Little Girl Who Changed Television Forever," *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, 31 January 1999, 9.

[60] "Television has 27-Hour Fire Trial," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 April 1949, 2.

[61] Unger, Daily Variety, op. cit.

[62] Williams dissertation, op.cit., 181.

[63] Dan Jenkins, "KTLA…the Station," TELE-Views, 20 January 1950, 6.

[64] "Television has 27-Hour Fire Trial," op. cit.

[65] "50 Years of Television Retailing," op.cit., Fiscus reference p.18-19.

[66] St. Johns, op. cit.

[67] "One Little Girl, *New York Times*, 11 April 1949, p. 24.

[68] Alice Fiscus, op. cit.

[69] Elizabeth Lee, "Remembering Kathy," 10 April 1999, *Pasadena Star News*, Celebrations section, 1. Over the years, Alice Fiscus declined to comment when reporters called her seeking reaction to similar incidents of trapped children, speaking out only after the successful rescue of Jessica McClure in 1987.

[70] Morrison, op. cit.

[71] Al Martinez, "At the End of the Road," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 December 1999, B1.

[72] Chambers, *News at Ten*, op. cit, 62-63.

Rising and Shining: Benjamin Day and His New York *Sun* Prior to 1836

Submitted to the History Division
AEJMC National Convention
Washington, D.C.
August 2001

Susan Thompson
The University of Alabama
319 Grace Street No. 1
Tuscaloosa, AL 35401
205-752-9197
sthompso@icr.ua.edu

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Rising and Shining: Benjamin Day and His New York *Sun* Prior to 1836

In 1829, twenty-year-old Benjamin Day packed his belongings and headed to New York City from his native West Springfield, Massachusetts, with ambitious dreams of earning enough money to start his own business. As a teenager, he had served an apprenticeship with Samuel Bowles, Sr., at the *Springfield Republican* office, where he had learned to set type and operate printing equipment. Now a skilled journeyman compositor and printer, he was ready to strike out on his own in the big city.[1]

It was a time when many New Englanders such as young Day were leaving their rural homes and heading for large cities, especially New York City. In addition to the many opportunities for employment available in the growing cities, the migratory movement was fuelled in part by a commonly shared belief that anyone, no matter how humble his station, could achieve wealth through hard work and perseverance. In reality, upward social mobility was the great exception rather than the general rule, as almost all of the country's rich had been born into affluence. Yet the precious few who actually did rise to wealth from low beginnings, men such as John Jacob Astor, also achieved status as cultural icons, their stories became so widely known. These oft-repeated tales created the American rags-to-riches myth that so captivated the public imagination in the first half of the nineteenth century.[2] The country had even elected as president a no-nonsense, down-to-earth, common man who had risen from low beginnings to realize glorious success on the battlefield and immense popularity and power in the political arena. If an Andrew Jackson could become President of the United States, and if a poor immigrant such as John Jacob Astor could amass a great fortune, then anything was possible for any man in a fast-developing nation filled with opportunities.[3]

Upon arrival in New York, young Day secured lodgings and found work as a compositor at one of the city's leading newspapers, the *New-York Evening Post*.[4] A respectable bastion of the old guard, the *Evening Post* represented one of two major types of dailies that characterized metropolitan journalism in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. As an archetype of the urban political daily, the *Evening Post* contained staid writing and politically-oriented editorials written by highly-educated editors for an elite readership. Mercantile sheets, intended for prominent citizens with mercantile interests, comprised the other class of newspapers. Filled with advertisements, ship schedules, wholesale product prices, and stale news both domestic and foreign, the mercantile newspapers were as uninteresting as their politically oriented brethren. The two varieties sold for either six cents a copy or ten dollars a year.

Most of the printing plants and newspaper offices of New York could be found within the same ten-block area, and the journeymen compositors and printers who worked at these facilities knew one another and formed a rather close fraternity.[5] As a compositor at one of the "respectable sixpennies," as they were called, Day soon counted among his friends other young men who had spent years laboring as lowly apprentices before rising to the coveted status of journeymen.

Shortly after Day had settled into his job, several members of his printing coterie approached him about joining them in an entrepreneurial venture. Day agreed, but his association with them turned out to be short-lived. In February of 1830 they introduced the *New York Daily Sentinel* in support of Working Men's Party,[6] but for some reason Day almost immediately backed out of the venture.[7]

Day again found employment at another six-cent daily, the newer *New York Journal of Commerce*. Here, he worked alongside a compositor named Dave Ramsey, a talkative man who often spoke of his intentions to establish someday a daily newspaper called the *Sun*. Rather than charge the customary six cents per copy, Ramsey planned to sell each of his newspapers for one cent each. At such a price, even working class people, many thousands of them, would be able to afford a daily newspaper. Each day, as they set up type for the *Journal of Commerce* pages, Day listened to Ramsey prattle on about the imaginary little newspaper.

A quiet and serious young man, Day had a rather "brusque address" that concealed a "very warm heart,"[8] so he probably listened with interest to Ramsey's dreams but didn't say much for fear of bursting his friend's bubble. Sensible and practical, Day knew that hard work, ample financial resources, and luck would be needed to succeed in any business venture in New York City, especially the production of a daily newspaper. He, too, had dreams - of opening his own job printing business - but his practical side kept him from jumping into anything half-cocked, or from rambling on about it senselessly. He was saving his money, quietly, until the day when he could purchase printing press and types to start a job printing business. With his own press and types, he could even publish his own one-cent daily newspaper if he so desired.

The next two years proved eventful for Day, both professionally and personally. Throughout 1831 and 1832, he continued working as a compositor and tucked away whatever he could toward the purchase of equipment. In September of 1831 he married his beautiful cousin, Eveline Shepard, and the couple settled on Chestnut Street in New York. Eveline soon became pregnant and the following July she gave birth to their son, Henry. During that first summer together after their marriage, the family lived in fear of a cholera epidemic that ravaged New York City and killed some 3,500 men, women, and children. Fortunately, the newlyweds and their newborn avoided illness, but the epidemic wreaked havoc on an unstable Jacksonian economy by stopping trade and causing industry to languish for more than a year. At some time during 1832 Day acquired his type and a manual, hand-crank job press, one that could throw off two hundred impressions an hour.

As the proud owner of printing equipment, Day did something uncharacteristically impulsive. He "struck off"[10] the headline design for a newspaper, THE SUN in all caps, and took it with him to show his friend and fellow printer Arunah Abell at the *Mercantile Advertiser* office where Day worked as a fill-in compositor. Abell simply howled with laughter. A penny daily newspaper called the *Sun* to be published by *Ben Day*? What a dandy humbug. . . .

Another compositor friend who happened to be living with the Days at that time,[11] William Swain, realized that Day was serious about the matter. Rather than laugh, Swain tried his best to talk some sense into his friend. His arguments probably took the form of a series of questions: Who would possibly want to read a one-cent newspaper? Who in their right mind would advertise in it? Did he realize how many newspapers he would have to sell in order to turn a profit? Never mind how he intended to sell that many newspapers - how in the world did he propose to *print* that many newspapers on a hand press? Even if he did find subscribers, did he know how much trouble newspaper owners had collecting past-due amounts from subscribers? Did he know how much work would be involved in producing a daily newspaper almost single-handedly? He had already beaten the odds – he owned his own types and printing press – why risk everything to try out some cockamamie scheme that would probably end up ruining him?

The arguments proved too discouraging, and young Day stored away the masthead design and his dream of bringing out his one-cent newspaper. As 1832 ended and the new year began, he turned his full attention to his job printing business. He set up his press in a tiny, ground-floor office at 222 William Street, a couple of blocks from the *New-York Evening Post.* Eveline became pregnant again early in 1833. Throughout the year, as Day watched her belly grow larger with their second child, he worried about the future of his business and the welfare of his growing family. At some point that year, Day moved his family to Duane Street in the working-class-inhabited Fifth Ward.[12] He continued working as a fill-in compositor at the offices of the *Journal of Commerce* and the *Mercantile Advertiser* to make ends meet as he established his printing business. He had entered a crowded field anyway, but due to the economy, competition for job printing had intensified.

Each day, as he walked from Duane Street to his small, 12-by-16-foot William Street print shop, he had to cross Chatham Street, a busy thoroughfare that split away from Broadway to the northeast.[13] On Chatham, street vendors hawked penny-a-piece items to passers-by from stalls lining the sidewalks. One could find a wide assortment of items here, from shoelaces to apples, all for one cent each. Others before him had noticed the avidity with which purchasers parted with their pennies on this street, and Day probably noticed it, too.[14]

His thoughts kept returning to the possibility of the *Sun*. The newspaper need not be anything fancy or big; on the contrary, about all he could handle with his limited resources would be a small, handbill-sized paper that would inform, amuse, and advertise. Its price of one cent would be within the means of even the poorest laborers. A cash-in-advance policy for subscriptions, sales, and advertisements would spare him the expense and hassle of ever having to collect past-due amounts. He could clip ads and interesting news items from other papers to fill the pages. As for distribution, why not hawk the papers like the street vendors of Chatham? True, newspaper proprietors did not consider it respectable to sell their papers in such a manner, or to actively solicit subscriptions, but Day did not understand such reasoning. Why should a publisher care if it appeared to everyone that he wanted to sell more newspapers? Wasn't that the publisher's main objective? Why pretend otherwise? Why should it be perfectly acceptable to hawk a piece of fruit on the street, but not a newspaper? Both were simply products meant for consumption.

People liked to read – people of all classes. They enjoyed reading a variety of things, from inexpensive and sensational street literature, to cheap magazines containing factual miscellanies on a variety of subjects, to literary magazines, to their weekly and daily newspapers. Reading provided a much-needed diversion from the harsh realities and cruelties of life, as much or more for the poor man as for the rich.

Why wouldn't people opt to pay $3 per year rather than $10, or one cent per copy rather than six cents, for their daily newspaper? True, he would not be able to offer them a product comparable in size,[1] but what he lacked in size he could make up for in interesting, informative, and amusing content. The common sort did not buy the *Courier and Enquirer* to inspect the shipping lists or to ponder some stuffy political discourse.[16] They bought it to be amused by the humorous reports of drunks and assorted low life that came up before the magistrate in police court. They bought it because its columns, some of them at least, were written in an entertaining manner. Would people not appreciate a daily newspaper that gave them the freshest news and amusing content they wanted and left out all the political discourses and other boring items that most people never read anyway?

Day was a man of action once he made up his mind. He decided in August that he would bring out the first number of his one-cent daily newspaper the following month. He refused to sit by idly as his printing business failed. The little newspaper would keep him busy doing something constructive, and it would at least afford him a medium for advertising his printing business.

As August turned to September in 1833, Eveline awaited the birth of their second child,[17] and her husband busied himself making final plans for the parturition of his little newspaper. He had received his paper order from his sister's husband, Moses Yale Beach, who then operated a paper mill at Saugerties on the Hudson.[18] With paper, a printing press, type, and his small office, he was ready to proceed. He purchased several six-penny dailies and clipped advertisements from them: ads for steamboat excursions, ads for cooks needed by wealthy families, ads for insurance policies. Day felt that by including such ads it would appear that the *Sun* had already gained the confidence of the foremost members of the New York commercial community as an advertising medium. He set these and other ads into type, including the ad for his job printing business, and interesting miscellanies that he had culled from other newspapers.

As the late afternoon sun streamed into the William Street office[19] that Monday, September 2, Day worked diligently setting up type for the small pages. The contents of the front page reflected Day's concept of journalism and what he felt constituted appropriate fare for a daily newspaper. He included two humorous tall tales, one about a duel-fighting Irish captain, and another about a Vermont boy who whistled so much that his muscles became stuck and he began whistling in his sleep. The latter story appeared under the heading "A Whistler" and related the following:

> A boy in Vermont, accustomed to working alone, was so prone to whistling, that, as soon as he was by himself, he unconsciously commenced. When asleep, the muscles of his mouth, chest, and lungs were so completely concatenated in the association, he whistled with astonishing shrillness. A pale countenance, loss of appetite, and almost total prostration of strength, convinced his mother it would end in death, if not speedily overcome, which was accomplished by placing him in the society of another boy, who had orders to give him a blow as soon as he began to whistle.[20]

Once he finished setting the outside pages, he continued his labors at the press, printing one side of a thousand of the 11¼ x 16-inch sheets, what would become pages one and four of the *Sun*.[21] The next day promised to be a busy one, as it would take a full five hours to print the reverse side of the thousand sheets, and after printing they would have to be folded into the 11¼ x 8-inch finished products.

On Tuesday, September 3, Day rose early and made his way to the office of the *Courier and Enquirer* where he bought a copy fresh from their press. He hurried back to William Street and got busy. He selected the most interesting items he could find from the six-cent paper, especially the lively police court report. He then went to work setting up type for the stories that would fill the remaining space on pages two and three. Sensational local and out-of-town news filled several columns on the inside pages. He included three news items about murders, a report of an earthquake in Virginia, an account of a suicide in Boston, news of a prison uprising in Ohio, and the police court column.

From the first issue of his newspaper, Day made it clear to readers that the *Sun* would provide as much entertainment as it did information. Humor, fiction, poetry, and humbugs could be expected on the front page, local news items would appear on the inside pages, and all would be written in a snappy and readable style. A humbug (such as the story of the whistling boy) differed considerably from mere fiction, and also from a lie or a swindle. According to the great showman P. T. Barnum, a humbug

> consists in putting on glittering appearances - outside show - novel expedients, by which to suddenly arrest public attention, and attract the public eye and ear.[22]

Even though they involved untruths, audiences usually did not consider humbugs to be fraudulent, due to their great entertainment value. Rather than condemning the perpetrator of humbugs, people accepted everything in good fun and appreciated the entertainment in an age of precious few amusements.[23] Sharp readers would be able to distinguish the entertaining humbugs from the real news items. (Most people would know, for instance, that a youngster could not actually whistle tunes while asleep.) Part of the fun of the *Sun* would be in determining which items were absolute fact and which ones were tall tales.

By early afternoon, Day and his assistants, a journeyman printer and a boy, had finished printing and folding the little newspapers, and they took to the streets to sell them.[24] They dodged the horse-drawn carriages and other equestrians along the bustling streets and showed the little one-cent papers to hundreds of passers-by. A steady stream of people succumbed to the curiosity, each one dipping into his pocket or into her purse to retrieve a penny.

That evening, Day counted his pennies. More than $3.00 in coins, which meant that more than 300 of the little newspapers had been sold. It was a most promising start.

As he put away the money and readied his press for the second issue, he assessed his problems. First and foremost, he needed advertisers, and in order to attract them, he had to sell more newspapers. The only way to sell more newspapers would be to hire more men to hawk them on the streets. But how could he pay additional helpers when he barely earned enough to keep his present help?

Day came up with an interesting solution - not a novel one, but one that made good sense and, he thought, would probably work. He would sell the newspapers in bulk to carriers at discount prices, and the carriers would be responsible for selling newspapers to the public. This distribution system was known as the "London plan" because London newspapers had used it for years. For every 100 copies of the *Sun*, vendors would pay 67 cents cash. If they were short of cash, Day would give them a 75-cent credit that would have to be paid before they could collect their next batch of newspapers. In order to minimize their risk, he would buy back any unsold newspapers at the end of the day.[25] The incentive system would benefit both carrier and publisher by encouraging the sale of as many newspapers as possible. For the second issue he set up the following ad:

> TO THE UNEMPLOYED—a number of steady men can find employment by vending this paper. A liberal discount is allowed to

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those who buy to sell again.

Day envisioned the distribution system as being a good source of work for unemployed men, so he was probably a bit surprised when the first person to respond to the ad was a ten-year-old boy. He offered the lad two dollars per week to sell as many copies as he could on the streets, hawking them like the street vendors on Chatham, and promised him extra cash if he disposed of more than a hundred newspapers. Within a short time, Day employed a handful of urchins on these terms.[26]

In addition to advertisers, Day sorely needed editorial and reportorial help. While he had basic and sound instincts about what everyday people liked to read, he did not possess extraordinary abilities as a writer. He could continue to clip items from other newspapers, but late-breaking, local items of interest would have to be written. The popular police court column presented a special problem. He wanted the column as a daily feature, but the *Courier and Enquirer* did not run the police court column daily. He would either need to attend the court sessions at four o'clock each morning and write them up himself, or pay someone to do it.

At some time during the first week of publication, the answer to Day's police court and editorial problems walked into the *Sun* office. George W. Wisner, an out-of-work journeyman printer with a "knack for writing,"[27] had recently worked for the *New York Evangelist*. Wisner had dark, curly hair, a handsome and clean-shaven face, and intelligent dark eyes that bespoke an inner strength, but his frail frame confessed of a delicate state of health that would result in his premature death at the age of 37.[28]

Wisner struck an interesting deal with Day. Since Day could not afford to pay him very much, Wisner offered his services as police court reporter, editor, and compositor until he could earn enough money to buy into the paper. Day would retain the greater portion of Wisner's salary as payment toward his interest in the venture, and Wisner would take home only four dollars a week, barely enough to keep him alive and not nearly enough to escape poverty.[29]

Day had to see the quality of Wisner's work before he formalized the arrangement, but he liked the sound of Wisner's offer. The two men were close in age, Wisner being younger by two years. Wisner seemed intelligent and industrious. Day liked the prospect of having someone to help shoulder expenses.

The relationship between Wisner and Day quickly became a stormy one as their political and editorial differences surfaced. Day, a Democrat, supported the presidency and policies of Andrew Jackson. Wisner opposed Jackson and his measures and would become a staunch supporter of the Whig party after its founding. More importantly, the two men disagreed on the most volatile issue of the day, the proposed abolition of slavery. Even though both men opposed slavery, Wisner supported the rising Abolitionist movement,[30] which advocated the immediate emancipation of all slaves. Day felt that slavery should be gradually eradicated so that the welfare of each former slave could be protected and so that the South would have time to adjust to a different system of labor.

Their political differences caused an editorial dichotomy in the pages of the *Sun* from the time of Wisner's arrival until his departure in the summer of 1835, especially during the anti-Abolitionist riots of 1834.[31] Day and Wisner disagreed to a lesser extent on the acceptability of particular kinds of content.[32] While he was not averse to publishing fiction[33] and did so on a number of occasions,[34] Wisner believed a newspaper should convey factual, truthful information to readers. Wisner made sure any fiction that appeared in the *Sun* could be readily identified as such; Day had shown in the first issue that he did not mind blurring such distinctions. Day was willing to fabricate for the sake of entertainment as long as it amused people and did not harm anyone. Rather than fill the paper with humbugs, Wisner selected articles of the useful-knowledge variety as fillers, or interesting items from out-of-town newspapers that credited them as sources.

Day and Wisner apparently agreed wholeheartedly on the one aspect of content that would come to define the *Sun*: the inclusion of interesting, local news. In addition to the daily police court column and other crime news,[35] they filled the pages with a wide assortment of local items. New Yorkers could read about a dog that rescued a store clerk from a fire,[36] and many other stories of animals exhibiting peculiar sagacity. A first-person account described an exciting trip aboard a balloon that ascended from Castle Garden.[37] The *Sun* alerted its readers to the presence of a gang of pickpockets in the city,[38] and it told them of the sudden death of a man on a street near the *Sun* office.[39] Whether the story involved the destructive force of a tornado in New Jersey[40] or street riots in New York,[41] people could find it in the pages of the *Sun*.

The varied contents – the mixed editorial voices, the sensational news items, the simple and sometimes humorous style of writing, the avoidance of serious and boring political discussions, and the entertaining mixture of local news, fiction, and poetry – appealed to New Yorkers from the start. The little newspaper became something of an overnight success. After about a month, the *Sun* enjoyed sales of about 1,200 copies per day, more and more advertisers paid for insertions in the little sensation, and its conductors felt assured of its survival.

Early success forced many changes. In December, after circulation climbed to about 4,000, Day had to purchase a new press in order to meet the public demand for more newspapers. He invested in a two-cylinder machine press that produced about a thousand impressions each hour. He soon hired two of his compositor friends and former partners from the *Daily Sentinel* days, Willoughby Lynde and William J. Stanley, to help with typesetting and press work. Within a few months, Wisner's withheld salary and his portion of the profits had paid for a half-interest in the establishment.[42]

Success also brought competitive imitators and jealous critics. Day's compositors, Lynde and Stanley, soon had to be replaced when they left to establish their own penny daily, the *Evening Transcript*.[43] Inspired by Day's immediate success, Lynde and Stanley copied the successful formula of the *Sun* in most every respect and enjoyed much early success. Obviously jealous of the success of the penny upstarts, editors of the established sixpenny dailies complained about the "penny trash"[44] and their police reports, due to their "inutility and dangerous tendency,"[45] and their adherence to a politically independent course.[46]

The phenomenal success of the *Sun* continued throughout 1834. Like a year-old gorilla squeezed into toddler's clothes, the *Sun* completely outgrew its small-time operation and inadequate equipment, and Day and Wisner again found themselves forced to make rapid changes at the close of the year. Needing a newer and faster press, they ordered a Napier from the Hoe Company and a steam engine to power it. Needing additional page space to accommodate all the overflowing advertising patronage, they increased the size of the *Sun* until the pages measured 11½ x 18 inches. At this juncture the two took the opportunity to change the motto of the newspaper to the famous "It Shines for All."

One of the downsides of 1834 (and indeed for the remainder of the 1830s) was the number of libel suits brought against the *Sun* editors, but apparently the suits did not bother either Day or Wisner. Early in 1835 they actually boasted editorially of having more than 20 libel suits brought against them in the previous year. The suits were mostly due to the inexperience of Day and Wisner and their overzealous desire to report facts and opinions without double-checking their sources or considering the consequences.

The year of 1835 proved to be an important one for the *Sun* in terms of personnel changes and additions, major stories, circulation surges, and the assumption of a leadership position. Richard Adams Locke would be hired in the spring and, a few months later, Wisner would sell out his interest. Moses Yale Beach would come on board as a clerk and manager of the mechanical department, and his young sons, Moses Sperry and Alfred Ely, would become regular fixtures at the *Sun* office doing a variety of jobs.[47] During this banner year, the *Sun* would publish a grand humbug that would bring it fame in the United States and abroad, and it would overtake the *Times* of London as the most widely circulated newspaper in the world.

The first major story of 1835 came in April. A self-professed fakir named Robert Matthias, who became known as Matthias the Prophet, went on trial for the murder of one of his followers. At first Matthias said he possessed the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, then he decided he was actually God the Father. He dressed the part of the latter, with an elegant, silk-lined cloak, pink-silk-lined frock coat, a silver sun gracing his left breast, silver stars twinkling on his right, and a crimson sash cinching the outfit.[48]

Wisner either could not or would not travel to White Plains to cover the sensational trial, because Day ended up making the journey himself. Despite Day's dubious writing talents, the *Sun* could not pass up such a tantalizing story. Everyone wanted to read all the details about this "half-cracked fellow," as Day called Matthias.

At the trial, Day began scouting around to see if he could possibly hire someone there to write the Matthias features for him. Fortunately, the *Courier and Enquirer* had sent their star reporter, Richard Adams Locke, and he readily agreed to young Day's offer to earn extra money by providing some Matthias features for the *Sun*. A friendly, genteel Englishman with a pockmarked face (battle scars from a serious bout with smallpox), a hawkish nose, and a receding hairline that made his forehead appear quite massive, Locke also possessed luminous but crossed eyes beneath a prominent brow. Edgar Allan Poe would later tactfully describe Locke's eyes as having a "marked obliquity,"[49] but Locke would refer to his own eyes as "squinting so curiously and contradictorily."[50] An amiable soul with a number of friends from different circles, Locke also had a reputation as a drinking man.

After the Matthias features ran in the *Sun*, Locke lost his job at the *Courier and Enquirer* and soon thereafter went to work for Day at a salary of $12 per week. The Englishman told Day that he had been fired for moonlighting for the *Sun*, but Day suspected that Locke had been dismissed because of his drinking habits.

Shortly after he joined the *Sun*, Locke approached the publishers with the idea for a series of fantastic stories he was concocting.[31] These stories described plant, animal, and humanoid life on the moon as witnessed through the telescope of a leading British astronomer. Locke had selected Sir John Herschel, an actual astronomer recognized throughout the world for his work, and he had set the story at Sir John's actual observatory at the Cape of Good Hope. An avid reader of astronomy literature, Locke possessed intimate knowledge of the subject that had allowed him to fill the stories with factual, technical details.

Locke viewed the mission of a newspaper in much the same way as Day, with tongue planted firmly in cheek and the goal of amusement. He proposed that they run the stories beneath a header that would credit the information to a recently-defunct European scientific journal, or better still, to a *supplement* of that journal. In mixing fact with fiction, it would give the stories maximum impact and entertainment value. Locke viewed the stories as a satire on "the monstrous fabrications of the political press of the country and the various genera and species of its party editors," – but the no-nonsense Day and Wisner probably realized that the public would not be so high-minded in recognizing the literary value of the articles.

Day had a knack for knowing what sort of items would interest people – the instant success of his little paper had proven such. Upon reading the beautifully and masterfully written moon pieces, he knew that the people of New York would relish them. The success of the stories depended upon presenting the fiction as fact and Day knew it. Why not run them as though they were fact? Such a hoax would not harm anyone. The stories would certainly amuse people. And they might sell a lot of papers, possibly enough to nudge the *Sun* ahead of the *Times* of London as world circulation leader.

Wisner and Day quarreled about a number of things, and the planned Moon Hoax with the false credit line was probably one of them. Day would have argued that the *Journal* did not exist, that anyone with any sense would know that the articles were fake anyway, and even if some people were fooled, what harm could it possibly do? Wisner would have said that many people would not know that the *Journal* had ceased, that it had once published and many people had heard of it, and that the source line gave a ring of authenticity to the articles that would deliberately deceive people. Printing fiction was one thing, but for Wisner, passing off fiction as fact was quite another.

Wisner's frail health had become something of a concern anyway, so he took the opportunity to leave the *Sun* and pursue his dream to move out west and study law.[illegible] Publicly, his health would be the only reason cited for his leaving.[illegible] In late July, several weeks before the moon articles appeared, Day paid him five thousand dollars for his interest in the newspaper. At this same time, Day decided to give up his job printing business and devote all his energies to the *Sun*.

Immediately after Wisner departed, the *Sun* experienced one of the most eventful and extraordinary months in its history. In the single month of August 1835, the newspaper office moved to a larger location, a major fire destroyed part of downtown New York, and Locke's grand moon humbug made the *Sun* famous throughout the world and edged the New York penny daily ahead of the *Times* of London as circulation leader.

At the beginning of the month, the *Sun* moved from the William Street office to a larger location at the corner of Nassau and Spruce

Streets, opposite City Hall. A little more than a week after they moved, a major fire raged through the downtown area. In the wee morning hours of Wednesday, August 12, the fire began on Fulton Street, and by dawn it had demolished Ann Street and many of the printing establishments of the downtown area. Fortunately, the fire did not reach Nassau Street and the *Sun*'s new office, but the *Sun*'s principal penny rivals were not so fortunate. Flames consumed the five-story building at 34 Ann Street that housed the *Transcript* and the newly established *Herald*. A subsequent article in the *Sun* would estimate that the fire put about 1000 people out of work, 200 of them printers.[14]

Sales of the *Sun* skyrocketed in the aftermath of the blaze. The August 12 issue of the *Sun* only mentioned the fire but sold more than 26,000 copies. With the *Transcript* and the *Herald* unavailable, anxious readers turned to the *Sun*. The editors wrote: "We may safely assert that no other one paper in the Union, nor in the world, ever sold as many papers in one day, as we did yesterday."[15] The *Sun* of August 13 contained details about the fire, the known dead, and names of those affected by the blaze. Subsequent issues related stories of tragedy associated with the fire.[16]

During the next two weeks, as the excitement caused by the conflagration settled down, Day made plans to proceed with publication of the moon stories. Probably as a result of the fire, the *Sun*'s increased circulation and lack of major penny competition, Locke upped the price for the moon series from $300 to between $500 and $600 dollars, which Day paid.

Day and Locke presented the moon hoax articles in a manner that allowed the story to gradually unfold. On August 21, the *Sun* quoted a brief paragraph, supposedly from the *Edinburgh Courant*, announcing "some astronomical discoveries of the most wonderful description" made by the noted astronomer Sir John Hershel at his observatory on the Cape of Good Hope. Four days later, the *Sun* ran a front-page article about Sir John, his work, and his ultra-powerful telescope. The article supposedly came from a supplement to the *Edinburgh Journal of Science,* an actual, European scientific journal that (unknown to many readers) had recently ceased publication. Over the course of the week, five more front-page articles credited to the supplement would report the amazing sights seen through Sir John's telescope. Readers would learn that the earth-like moonscape featured shady woods, valleys, pebbled beaches, rivers, and islands. They would discover that interesting lunar creatures resembled hybrids of animals known on earth: single-horned, bluish-colored goats; miniature bison with semicircular horns; cranes with "unreasonably long legs"; and beavers that walked upright, carried their young in their arms, and built fires to warm themselves. They would thrill to the revelation that the most fantastic lunar creatures of all appeared to be small humans with copper-colored hair that covered their entire bodies except for yellowish faces and bat-type wings. The creatures communicated with one another and engaged in amusements that "ill comport with our terrestrial notions of decorum."[illegible]

The *Sun*'s penny rivals, the *Transcript* and the *Herald* (upon its August 31 revival) denounced the story as a hoax from the onset,[illegible] but many readers were duped, including some of the editors of the respectable sixpennies. Several of these editors took the *Sun* at its word and republished the articles. Reprints of the articles appeared in the *Mercantile Advertiser* and the ultra-respectable *New-York Evening*

Post. The *Daily Advertiser* said

> No article has appeared for years that will command so general a perusal and publication. Sir John has added a stock of knowledge to the present age that will immortalize his name and place it high on the page of science."[59]

Professors from Yale University made a special trip to the *Sun* office to take a look at the supplement to the *Journal* and investigate the moon business. They first approached Locke, who promptly referred them to his young boss.[60] Day, with his brusque manner, pretended to be "vastly indignant" that they would dare question the veracity of the stories. "I suppose the magazine is somewhere upstairs," he told the Yale delegates when they asked to see the Edinburgh supplement, "but I consider it almost an insult that you should ask to see it."[61] The learned men backed down. After they left, the entire office laughed for days at the prospect of having humbugged the Yale eggheads.[62]

The moon articles accomplished their goal. On August 28, 1835, the *Sun* boasted the largest circulation of any daily newspaper on the planet, surpassing even that celebrated bastion in London, the *Times*. It had a grand circulation of 19,360, which included 15,440 subscribers in New York, 700 in Brooklyn, street sales of 2,000 in New York and 1,220 out of town. At that time, the *Times* of London reported a circulation of about 17,000.

The *Courier & Enquirer* and the *Journal of Commerce* ignored the moon stories as long as possible. Finally, after the last in the series ran, the editor of the *Journal of Commerce* instructed one of the reporters named Finn (who happened to be a good friend and drinking buddy of Locke's) to get copies of the stories so the paper could reprint them. That evening over drinks the reporter told Locke his plans. If Locke remained silent on the matter and the ruse was subsequently exposed, his friend might very well lose his job. So he admitted the stories had been fabricated.[63]

When Finn passed along the knowledge to his superior, the *Journal of Commerce* promptly exposed and denounced the hoax. Other newspapers condemned the *Sun*, but readers responded with wonder and appreciation. They admired the elaborate lengths to which Locke had gone to clothe the fantastic and incredible in a mantle of truth. Even the upper classes had bought the *Sun* to marvel at the moon accounts. People had suspected that they were not true, but most had not been able to tell for sure. Whether true or not, the masterfully written stories had given readers so much more than a mere penny's worth of entertainment, how could they possibly complain? The wealthy Philip Hone, indicative of the public sentiment, wrote of the Hoax:

> In sober truth, if this account is true, it is most enormously wonderful, and if it is a fable, the manner of its relation, with all its scientific details, names of persons employed, and the beauty of its glowing descriptions, will give this ingenious history a place with 'Gulliver's Travels' and 'Robinson Crusoe.'[64]

Another contemporary, the author and critic Edgar Allan Poe, credited the moon hoax with making the *Sun* an enduring success and establishing the penny press throughout the nation. Poe wrote,

> From the epoch of the hoax "The Sun" shone with unmitigated splendor. The start thus given the paper insured it a triumph . . . Its success firmly established "the penny system" throughout the country, and (through "The Sun") consequently, we are indebted to the genius of Mr. Locke for one of the most important steps ever yet taken in the pathway of human progress.[65]

Rising and Shining: Benjamin Day and His New York *Sun* Prior to 1836

Poe's estimation of the importance of the Moon Hoax in establishing the success of the *Sun* may seem a bit exaggerated, considering that the popularity of the *Sun* had grown phenomenally prior to the publication of the moon stories, but his observations about the success of the *Sun* establishing "the penny system" throughout the nation have much merit. Within two years after publication of the hoax, other penny newspapers destined for great success would be established in Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Baltimore.

The success of the *Sun* had been due to a number of factors. The enterprise of Benjamin Day and George Wisner helped, as did their successful management of the operation and their ability to attract talented employees such as Locke. The everyday contents of the *Sun* also made it popular, including its engaging, conversational writing style, its avoidance of weighty and boring political diatribes, and its emphasis on sensational crime news and other items of local interest to the masses of people. Above all, the appealing price of the *Sun* put it in the reach of all classes of citizens.

The success of the *Sun* and the new breed of newspapers it generated brought great changes to American journalism. Some of these changes, attributed to Benjamin Day, would characterize the American newspaper business for many years to follow. Day's contributions to American journalism were summed up in 1889 in his obituary in the newspaper he founded, when it thrived under Charles A. Dana. The editorial listed three innovations attributed to Day: (1) the establishment in New York of the successful, low-priced newspaper and a more conversational style of journalism, (2) the setting of a new standard for news interest (the emphasis on local news), and (3) the invention of the American newsboy.

The *Sun* editor wrote:

> The whole modern system of delivery to the public, in all of its complex development, from the urchin who sells ten copies to the great news company that handles 50,000, is the outgrowth of Day's idea of the way to reach the public.[66]

One of Day's most important contributions to the success of his newspaper and to changes in American journalism was his ability to gauge what the public wanted and, especially, his understanding of the public's desire for entertainment.

The positive qualities of Day and the *Sun* were offset by a few negative ones. The *Sun* editors sometimes abused the great power at their disposal, and their inexperience caused them more than a few troubles with the law, especially libel suits. The emphasis on fiction passed off for fact severely undermined the march toward an ideal of objectivity in news reporting. Yet, the reporting of sensational news and the perpetration of inventive hoaxes served to generate more popularity, which contributed to the spread of the penny press throughout the nation. As Poe pointed out in his observations on the moon hoax:

> The consequences of the scheme, in their influence on the whole newspaper business of the country, and through this business on the interests of the country at large, are probably beyond all calculation.[67]

Rising and Shining: Benjamin Day and His New York *Sun* Prior to 1836

[1] Except where noted, biographical information on Benjamin Day was derived from an interview and other stories printed in the fiftieth anniversary issue of the *New York Sun*, 2 September 1883, and from stories in the one-hundredth anniversary issue of the *Sun*, 2 September, 1933. The latter issue contains a revealing portrait of Day written by his grandson. Information on Day is also included in the following sources: Frank O'Brien, *The Story of The Sun* (1928; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 1-90; Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States* (1873; reprint ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 417-424; Joseph P. McKerns, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of American Journalism* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1989), 171-173; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1906), 13:307-308; Allen Johnson & Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930) 5:155-156. (For convenience, the *New York Sun* will be called *NYS* in notes.)

[2] Even Alexis de Tocqueville, the French traveler who commented on society in Jacksonian America, was taken in by the country's rags-to-riches myth. He wrote, "In America, most of the rich men were formerly poor." William E. Dodge estimated that about seventy-five percent of the wealthy men of Jacksonian America "had risen from comparatively small beginnings to their present position." See Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Paris, 1835, 1840) 1: 54 and 2: 138, and William E. Dodge, *Old New York: A Lecture* (New York, 1880), 38-40. See also Edward Pessen, "The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility, and Equality in the 'Era of the Common Man'," Edward Pessen, ed., *The Many-Faceted Jacksonian Era: New Interpretations* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 7-46; and Douglas T. Miller, *Jacksonian Aristocracy: Class and Democracy in New York, 1830-1860* (New York, 1967).

[3] The egalitarian myth did not apply to women or to people of color.

[4] In the 1883 interview, Day did not say exactly when he worked for the *New-York Evening Post*, but he indicated that he worked for the *New York Journal of Commerce* and the *New York Mercantile Advertiser* in 1830, 1831, and 1832, so he must have worked for the *New-York Evening Post* sometime earlier.

[5] See James Parton, *The Life of Horace Greeley* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1855), 121. Parton wrote that almost all the printing offices in New York were located within the same square mile. The informal fraternity of printers would soon become one of the nation's first labor unions, the Typographical Association. See Sean Wilintz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 219.

[6] Day also served a brief stint as a printer for Robert Dale Owen's radical *New York Free Enquirer*, but this was his only other association with the labor press. The labor newspapers would decline in number and the strength of the labor movement they represented would subside in the 1830s. For more details about the *New York Daily Sentinel*, see Alexander Saxton, "Problems of Class and Race in the Origins of the Mass Circulation Press," *American Quarterly 36* (1984): 211-34.

[7] Louis H. Fox, "New York City Newspapers, 1820-1850, A Bibliography," *The Papers of The Bibliographical Society of America*, 21 (1927):89. The *Daily Sentinel* struggled and finally expired only three years after it had commenced publication.

[8] *The New York Times*, 22 December 1889, 9.

[9] She was described as beautiful by a reminiscing grandson in 1933.

[10] These were Day's words from the 1883 interview.

[11] Isaac C. Pray, *Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and His Times* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855), 179.

[12] New York City directories for 1832 and 1833-34 indicate Day's home address as 17 Chestnut. The 1834-35 directory lists him at 58 Duane. No firsthand

evidence could be located regarding the date of the move, but most people at that time moved on May 1 each year. See Edward K. Spann, *The New Metropolis, New York City, 1840-1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 18-19.

[13] A good map of New York City in 1833 is included in Edwin Williams, ed., *New-York As It Is, In 1833; and Citizens' Advertising Directory* (New York: J. Disturnell, 1833). A map is also reproduced in the September 2, 1933 issue of the *NYS*.

[14] According to Horace Greeley and James Parton, a medical student named Horatio David Sheppard got the idea for a penny newspaper by watching the penny-a-piece sales on Chatham Street. Sheppard visited print shops throughout New York trying to persuade printers to assist him in a one-cent newspaper venture. In 1832 he convinced two young printers, Francis Story and Horace Greeley, to join him. Their ill-fated *Morning Post* survived only a few weeks after its introduction on January 1, 1833. Sheppard turned from the newspaper business to practicing medicine. A 1935-36 city directory lists him as a "physician" at 96 Eldridge. Day and other journeymen printers in New York probably knew of the Greeley-Story-Sheppard attempt, and the failure of the venture may have made Day even more reluctant to proceed with his experiment. See Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life*, 91-93; also, Parton, *Life of Horace Greeley*, 142-144; also, *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1835). Day never specifically mentioned Chatham Street in the 1883 interview, but 1833 maps reveal that the street stretched across any likely path from Duane to William Streets. It seems highly probable that Day, having to cross this street each day, would have noticed the penny-a-piece sales as Sheppard had.

[15] The respectable sixpenny dailies were large at this time, but in subsequent decades they would become immense in size in an effort to compete. By the mid-1830s they had already been nicknamed "blanket sheets" due to their large proportions.

[16] Statistical evidence suggests that many people outside the upper classes were among the subscribers to six-penny daily metropolitan mercantile and political newspapers. In New York City, for example, the richest 4 percent of the population (who owned about 49 percent of the city's noncorporate wealth in 1828) represented less than 5,000 New Yorkers in 1820 and less than 8,000 New Yorkers in 1830, and both figures included men, women, and their children. See Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington: D. C. Heath, 1973), 35-36. See also Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 25-28. Wilentz says that the remaining population - those outside the top 4 percent - included everyone from the destitute to the laboring poor to the master craftsmen and their journeymen. With the total daily circulation of the 8 New York dailies in 1820 being 10,800, the total circulation of the 11 New York dailies in 1830 being 16,000, and increasing to 26,500 by 1833 (circulation of the *Courier and Enquirer* alone accounting for more than 4,000), it becomes apparent that a great number of these newspapers were selling to people other than the very wealthy. The comparatively colorful contents of the *Courier and Enquirer*, along with its relatively large circulation, suggests that this paper, at least, intended to attract a wider audience than the city's elite.

[17] Their daughter Mary Ely would be born on October 27, 1833. She would die before her fifth birthday. *A Genealogical Register of the Descendants in the Male Line of Robert Day of Hartford, Conn., Who Died in the Year 1648* (Northampton: J & L Metcalf, 1848), 55.

[18] Allen Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 2: 82-84. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1906), 1:307.

[19] The office had many windows and was located on the eastern side of the street, therefore, according to the city map, must have faced in a due-Westerly direction. Illustrations of the various *NYS* offices are included in the anniversary issue of the newspaper, 3 September 1933.

[20] *NYS*, 3 September 1833.

[21] Day reported in the 1883 interview that he was "pretty sure that I printed a thousand copies that morning." His press could produce only 200 impressions per hour, one side only. He could have printed 1000 copies that morning only if he had already printed pages one and four.

[22] P. T. Barnum, *Humbugs of the World* (New York: G.W. Carleton, 1865), 8-9, 11. Barnum became the master of humbugs. He promoted a 70-plus-year-old black woman as the 160-plus-year-old former maid of young George Washington. He displayed the carefully sewn-together parts of a dead fish and a dead monkey and called it the Fiji mermaid. The public paid hard-earned money to see these attractions, but rather than denounce them as frauds and demand their money back, they were intrigued, amused, and impressed by the lengths to which Barnum would go to present falsehoods in a mantle of truth.

[23] According to Andie Tucher, "A humbug, by definition, is an in-joke that not everybody gets." Andie Tucher, *Froth & Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 57.

[24] No information is available about Day's initial distribution method, but it seems likely that after gathering information, writing, editing, typesetting, and printing the first issue himself, he would have probably helped distribute the papers as well.

[25] Day eventually stopped the practice of buying back unsold copies, after he discovered that some of the carriers were renting out the sheets during the day and selling them back to him in the evening.

[26] In 1883, Day recalled his early method of distribution using newsboys hired at $2 per week. "I ran this system some time before I set up carriers with regular routes." When the routes became properties of enterprising adults, Day put the London plan into effect. The newsboys continued street sales, apparently at the $2 per week rate.

[27] *NYS*, 3 September 1883.

[28] C. W. Burton, Scrapbook No. 4, clipping, p. 101, Burton Historical Collections, Detroit, cited in James Stanford Bradshaw, "George W. Wisner, A Forgotten Firebrand," *Chronicle* (Lansing, MI: Historical Society of Michigan), 19 (1983), 2-11. Except where specifically cited, additional biographical information on Wisner was obtained from the following sources: James Stanford Bradshaw, "George W. Wisner and the New York *Sun*," *Journalism History* 6 (1979-80), 112, 117-121; Wm. David Sloan, "George W. Wisner: Michigan Editor and Politician," *Journalism History 6* (1979-80), 113-116.

[29] The arrangement being Wisner's idea is indicated by the wording Day used in describing what happened: "Wisner . . . came and said if I would give him $4 a week he would get up early every morning and do these police reports. . . . He agreed to attend them regularly and write out what was interesting, besides working daytimes at setting type and doing whatever else he could. . . . Wisner did them so well that I made a new arrangement with him. He was still to have $4 a week, but I agreed that if the paper was a success we would share the profits, I retaining his share until it amounted to enough to pay for half of the establishment." In saying that he agreed to the arrangement, Day's account seems to indicate that the idea for it originated with Wisner. For information about antebellum salaries and poverty levels, see Bruce Laurie, *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 59.

[30] The New York City Anti-Slavery Society, advocating the immediate emancipation of slaves, was established by Arthur and Lewis Tappan about a month after the *NYS* appeared, at the Chatham Street Chapel near the *NYS* office on William Street.

[31] The degree of Day's intolerance for Wisner's promotion of Abolitionist views is indicated by his words in the 1883 interview: "Wisner, whenever he got a chance, was always sticking in his damned little Abolitionist articles." The best scholarly examination of Day and Wisner's editorial differences on the subject of the abolishment of slavery can be found in Gary L. Whitby, *The New*

York Penny Press and the American Romantic Movement, Ph.D. Diss., The University of Iowa, 1984; and Gary L. Whitby, "Horns of Dilemma: The *Sun*, Abolition, and the 1833-34 New York Riots," *Journalism Quarterly*, 67 (1990), 410-419.

[32] This claim is based on a close textual analysis of the *Sun* before and during Wisner's tenure and after his departure, and as will be shown, on the timing of Wisner's departure shortly after the hiring of Richard Adams Locke and shortly before publication of the moon hoax.

[33] According to Whitby, the inclusion of fiction in newspapers of the period seems to have been directly influenced by the many literary weeklies that became popular at that time. These quarto-size weeklies (9" x 12") were filled with news and literature, and therefore served as models for the penny papers in terms of size and content. See Whitby, *The New York Penny Press and the American Romantic Movement*, 162. According to Whitby, "[B]y 1833 there was often little distinction between the two: that American journalism was American literature; that American literature was American journalism; and that, given the tremendous growth and power of the American press during the romantic period, it made more sense to think of literature as 'just good journalism' than of journalism as 'literature in a hurry.' If one accepts this argument, another logically follows: that the poem, the short story, the serialized novel, etc. should be regarded as forms of news." (p. 500)

[34] See, for example, *NYS*, 1 November 1834, 25 December 1834, 5 February 1835.

[35] For the best scholarly examination of the penny papers' treatment of crime news, see Tucher, *Froth & Scum*. Tucher writes: "Chronicles of crime were not a particularly new phenomenon in America, but *news* of crime was. Newspapers had traditionally paid very little attention to lawbreakers and wrongdoers. Their reticence sprang in part from logistics: hard-pressed local weeklies could rarely spare precious space to report on events that most townspeople would already have heard about, clucked over, and dissected for every nuance of meaning as they went about their daily business in the town square, the shops, or the taverns." (Quote is from Tucher, p. 9) Crime news became even more prominent in the *Sun* when formidable penny competitors arrived on the scene – the *Transcript* in 1834 and the *Herald* in 1835.

[36] *NYS*, 24 October 1834

[37] *NYS*, 2 October, 1834.

[38] *NYS*, 9 November 1834.

[39] *NYS*, 6 May 1835.

[40] *NYS*, 22 June 1835.

[41] *NYS*, 23 June 1835.

[42] Wisner's name had already begun to appear alongside Day's on the front page of the paper, but Day recalled that Wisner did not become joint proprietor until the Spring of 1834.

[43] Founded in March of 1834, the conductors of the *Evening Transcript* would convert it to a morning paper and change its name to the *New York Transcript* about a month later. Day would also employ William Swain and Arunah Abell prior to their establishment of the very successful *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and the *Baltimore Sun*.

[44] *NYS*, 8 April 1834. The article quotes Col. James Watson Webb's remarks on the penny press in his *Courier and Enquirer*.

[45] See *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 3 September 1834.

[46] See *NYS*, 31 March 1834.

[47] Within three years, Beach would own the newspaper.

[48] A description of Matthias the Prophet is included, along with a two-column woodcut illustration, in the 9 November 1834 issue of the *NYS*, when Matthias appeared before the Grand Jury of the Court of Sessions in New York City.

[49] James A. Harrison, ed., *Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, 17 vols, (New York: Fred De Fau & Co., 1902), 15: 48-49.

[50] Locke used these words to describe not only his own crossed eyes but also those of a former colleague at the *Courier and Enquirer*, James Gordon Bennett.

See the *New York Herald*, 1 September 1835, which quotes a letter written by Locke to the *Evening Star*.

[51] Locke may have been assisted in writing the moon articles by Lewis Gaylord Clark, the editor of a leading literary magazine in New York, the *Knickerbocker*. See *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1898), 8:455. Day does not say that Locke showed them the stories at this time, but it seems likely that he would have offered them a sample of the stories when he approached them with the idea, as he wanted Day and Wisner to pay him $300 for the series.

[52] The Michigan territory fascinated him, and he had "always wanted to be a lawyer." See Robert B. Ross, *Early Bench and Bar of Detroit* (Detroit: Winn & Hammond, 1907), p. 232. See also Bradshaw, "George W. Wisner and the New York *Sun*," 120-121.

[53] In the 1883 interview, Day admitted that he and Wisner had quarreled before he left and thus established that his health had not been the sole reason for Wisner's departure. Within a couple of months, Wisner would be back at work in an editorial position for a Whig weekly in Michigan. See Sloan, "George W. Wisner," 113-116.

[54] *NYS*, 14 August 1835.

[55] *NYS*, 13 August 1835.

[56] *NYS*, 15 August 1835, 22 August 1835.

[57] *NYS*, 28 August 1835.

[58] *New York Herald*, 27 October 1835, reported that none of the penny newspaper editors had believed the moon story.

[59] Quoted in O'Brien, *The Story of The Sun*, 47.

[60] *New York Herald*, 11 September 1835. See also, William N. Griggs, ed., *The Celebrated 'Moon Story,' Its Origin and Incidents* (New York: Bunnell and Price, 1852), 27-28.

[61] Day used these words when he related the story in the 1883 interview.

[62] Pray, *Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett*, 191.

[63] In the 1883 interview, Day revealed that he believed Locke had spilled the secret after becoming "tipsy" with his friend.

[64] Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1936), 173.

[65] Edgar Allan Poe, "Richard Adams Locke," in *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed., James A. Harrison (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1902), 135.

[66] *NYS*, 23 December 1889

[67] Poe, "Richard Adams Locke," 126.

Reconnecting With the Body Politic:
Toward Disconnecting Muckrakers and Public Journalists

by

Frank E. Fee Jr., Ph.D
School of Journalism & Mass Communication
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Correspondence to:
Frank E. Fee Jr.
11 Saddlewood Court
Durham, NC 27713-9346
(919) 401-4909
E-mail: ffee@email.unc.edu
FAX: (919) 962-0620

A paper presented to the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication annual convention, Washington, D.C., August 2001

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the group of magazine journalists who became known as the muckrakers practiced an aggressive form of journalism that attacked unbridled big business and government corruption. Ida M. Tarbell, David Graham Phillips, and Lincoln Steffens helped define and set the early tone of the muckraking decade, and themes inherent in their work and motivation continue to have resonance in modern journalism. These three writers also demonstrated some of the range of behaviors and perspectives that separated radical and conservative approaches to the muckraking genre.

At century's end, a number of so-called public or civic journalists likewise adopted activist roles to remedy political and social malaise that many observers saw at large in the nation. The public journalists, whose movement is now more than a decade old, claimed theirs was a new approach to journalism.[1] However, while the controversial public journalism movement has yet to generate much historical analysis,[2] scholars including historian Michael Schudson[3] have suggested a connection between public journalism and muckraking. This paper examines that claim from the historical perspective and suggests that despite certain commonalities, the two movements differ in fundamental and largely unexplored ways.

"Literature of Exposure"

Most media historians fix the muckraking era at between 1902 and 1912[4] and situate it in the context of the Progressive reform movement of 1901-1917.[5] According to historians George

Mowry and Judson Grenier, "The 'era of the muckrakers' is generally assumed to have begun with the publication by *McClure's Magazine* of Lincoln Steffens' 'Tweed Days in St. Louis' in October, 1902, and to have ended in the Progressive party's Götterdämmerung with the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912."[6] The muckraking magazines, "*McClure's*, *Collier's*, *Everybody's*, the *American*, and the *Cosmopolitan* – achieved circulations in the hundreds of thousands and won unprecedented mass readership across America for the 'literature of exposure.'"[7]

The muckrakers also laid groundwork for other non-mainstream movements in twentieth-century American journalism. For instance, some media historians, including Schudson and Robert Miraldi, find investigative reporting's roots in the muckraking era.[8]

Public Journalism's Aims

In the growing literature of public journalism, two authors have had particular importance. Davis Merritt, former editor of the *Wichita* (Kansas) *Eagle*, and Jay Rosen, a journalism professor at New York University and director of the former Project on Public Life and the Press.[9] Perhaps the key point underscored by Rosen, Merritt, and others, is "community connectedness." And "what distinguishes community connectedness from simple crusading is the emphasis on public discussion and civic improvement."[10] Rosen adds:

> Community connectedness points with alarm to our growing sense of dislocation from the communities where we live, and from the wider political community we inhabit as citizens of the world's oldest democracy. It also takes

> what had earlier been a premise of the daily newspaper – the existence of a public attuned to public affairs – and makes that the newspaper's project. Thus, community connectedness is about helping to form as well as inform "the public."[11]

As Merritt has maintained in stressing philosophy over definition and practices:

> Public journalism is not aimed at solving problems; it is aimed at reengaging citizens in solving problems. It does not seek to join with or substitute itself for government ... it seeks to keep citizens in effective contact with the governing process. Its goal is not to better connect journalists with their communities, but to better connect the people in communities with one another.[12]

MUCKRAKING AND PUBLIC JOURNALISM

Muckraking and public journalism have in common a number of qualities, including (1) journalistic activism, (2) goals of reconnecting citizens and their government, (3) an assumption that journalism could accomplish the reconnection, (4) strongly held philosophies but no set rules for achieving their ends, hence a wide range of behaviors, (5) criticism from contemporaries in mainstream journalism, and (6) criticism from persons in the power structures. They even have in common the suspicion by some that publishers embracing these novel forms have been motivated simply by the profits they promised from increased readership.[13] Several authors have made convincing arguments that this was true for the publishers of muckraking publications,[14] and similar concerns are expressed about corporate sponsorship of public journalism in an era of declining circulation,[15] although here the jury is still out.[16]

Two Views of Government and Citizens

This research examines the conceptual framework of three leading muckrakers – Tarbell, Phillips, and Steffens – toward government and citizen participation between 1902 and 1912 as expressed in part by their autobiographies and letters. These findings are compared with the stated motives and objectives of public journalism's leading promoters, Merritt, Rosen, and Arthur Charity, another member of the Project for Public Life and the Press. The goal here is not to examine what these muckrakers wrote in their articles but to determine why they wrote what they did during that period and what vision of the relationship of citizens and government informed their rhetoric. Similar inquiry will be directed at the public journalists.

THE ACTIVIST TURN: LINCOLN STEFFENS

Lincoln Steffens' "Shame of the Cities" series in *McClure's Magazine* may have launched the muckraking era[17] but its author claimed a long line of people, even "the prophets of the Old Testament were ahead of me ... finding fault with 'things as they are.'"[18] In fact, he wrote, "I did not intend to be a muckraker; I did not know that I was one till President Roosevelt picked the name out of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and pinned it on us; and even then he said that he did not mean me.[19]

Moreover, before long the crusading journalist was showing a preference for crusading over journalism. Tarbell said that as early as 1908 she sensed "Steffens' growing dissatisfaction with the restrictions of journalism. He wanted a wider field, one in which he could more directly influence political and social leaders, preach more directly his notions of the Golden Rule, which at that time was his chosen guide.[20] His audience, she said, was "political bosses ... (and) the tycoons of Wall Street, the Brahmins of Boston."[21]

In his autobiography and in many of his letters, Steffens evinced continuing interest in bringing corrupt officials to heel. Writing to his father in 1903 of a magazine series he was developing, Steffens remarked: "I think they will make trouble for some damned big rascals who think they are above the danger mark."[22]

"Something Can Be Done"

In 1904, Steffens assured his father his muckraking did not reflect pessimism: "I say there is the assumption that something can be done and that men are willing to do it."[23] Part of his optimism was in the basic goodness and responsibility of the private citizen. In a letter to Roosevelt in September 1905, Steffens urged the president to seek campaign funds not from "the insurance and other corporations seeking national legislation" but from "the people who didn't want anything out of the Government except general laws and an administration of justice and fair play."[24] He added:

> I believe we would not only respond with our dollars but with a tremendous contribution of loyalty to you and to the government. ... [Y]ou would make the millions feel that it was their Government, as it is, and that you and your administration were beholden to the many, not to the few.[25]

Four years later, in a letter consoling Cleveland, Ohio, reformer Tom L. Johnson on an elections setback, Steffens wrote, "They [Cleveland voters] have not disturbed my confidence that in the long run the people will go right more surely than any individuals or set of individuals."[26]

"Democracy a failure?"

In his autobiography, Steffens commented, "The leading question raised in my second article on St. Louis was, 'Is democracy a failure?' A trick, a political trick! I had no doubt that the people could and would govern themselves."[27]

Steffens' assessment of the reform victories in the 1905 elections was that "we, the American people, carried ourselves at last, and the beginning has been made toward the restoration of representative democracy all over the land."[28] His vision was that good men would provide leadership in bringing government to the people. In a 1906 letter to Brand Whitlock, reform mayor of Toledo, Ohio, Steffens synthesized his view of the relationship between leaders and citizens:

> You weren't elected mayor. You were chosen leader. You weren't there to give good government or solve problems, but to let them govern themselves somehow and tackle their problems with them and for them; ignorant, in doubt, with no "policy" and not many definite plans, but, – a clear idea, and a willingness to serve, to serve others toward the development of their character at any personal sacrifice except that of the development of your character.[29]

Exposure, Not Convictions

In a 1907 letter to Roosevelt, Steffens suggested a view of the value and aims of muckraking, telling the president, "most of the good done in the last few years has been done by the exposure, not the conviction of the rascals. Harriman talking on the stand is of more use to the country than Harriman behind bars."[30] In that letter he made one of his clearest statements about his motives in muckraking:

> What I am after is the cause and the purpose and the methods by which our government, city, state and federal, is made to represent not the common, but the special interests; the reason why it is so hard to do right in the United States. ... Fighting dishonesty as you are, you are doing more than all the rest of us so-called muckrakers put together to show the American people that the cause of graft, and the result of all our corruption, is simply misrepresentation in government and that the cure is to regulate, to control, or, if these fail, to own those businesses which find it necessary to their success to corrupt men and citizens and states and the United States.[31]

Steffens may have believed in the exposé to help restore good government to the people but he backed up his watchdog role with political activism that is echoed by some of the more extreme efforts taken in the name of public journalism. In a lengthy 1908 letter to William C. Bobbs, who was involved in reform efforts in Indianapolis, Steffens combined a pep talk ("Your platform is good as far as it goes"), mild scolding ("my dear Mr. Bobbs, you did not follow my advice"), and plan of attack ("Go to the people with your program.").[32] April 1910 found him asking Judge James B. Dill to "send me as big a check as you can by way of a contribution to La Follette's fight in Wisconsin. The interests are preparing a big organization against him there, and it is our business, all of us."[33]

Steffens' activism moved him toward socialism during these years and offered the extreme solution to bringing government to the people: Making the people owners of those organizations that Steffens saw as the corrupting influences on government.[34] Regardless whether nationalization was really the answer, however, Steffens was prepared to leave journalism and step directly into the reform efforts, going beyond exposure to planning and leading the fight in city after city.[35]

THE POWER OF FACT: IDA M. TARBELL

The paradox of Ida M. Tarbell is that although one of the best-known of the genre, she was a reluctant muckraker. Already a well-known journalist when her investigation of Standard Oil and John D. Rockefeller was serialized in *McClure's* magazine in 1902,[36] Tarbell continued to think of herself as a journalist, or a historian,[37] rather than a muckraker during much of the muckraking period. She began writing for *McClure's* in 1893 as "a stray journalist in Paris"[38] and remained with the magazine until she and several colleagues, rejecting a business scheme of publisher S.S. McClure, left to join *The American Magazine* in March 1906.[39] Of her days at *McClure's*, Tarbell wrote, "We were neither apologists nor critics, only journalists intent on discovering what had gone into the making of this most perfect of all monopolies (Standard Oil)."[40] The *American*, too, was devoted to journalism, not muckraking, she said:

> As a matter of fact, *The American Magazine* had little genuine muckraking spirit. It did have a large and fighting interest in fair play; it sought to present things as they were, not as somebody thought they ought to be. We were journalists, not propagandists; and as journalists we sought new angles on old subjects.[41]

The *American's* reporting, she said, was guided by "our ardent desire to improve things by demonstrating their unsoundness and ... our unwillingness to use any other tools than those which belonged legitimately to our profession."[42]

"Commercial Machiavellism and the Christian Code"

Besides publisher S.S. McClure's quest for more readers,[43] the motivation for Tarbell's *The History of the Standard Oil Company* was her conviction that "business is important, can be profitable, and is not inherently evil," and that "business has certain obligations to its workers, with regard to their human needs, that in many instances it does not fulfill."[44] It was, she said, "the struggle ... between Commercial Machiavellism and the Christian Code."[45] Since the term "muckraker" was applied retroactively in 1906 by a reproving President Theodore Roosevelt,[46] Tarbell in 1902 did not see herself as a muckraker – "this classification ... which I did not like"[47] – when *McClure's* published the history in installments, nor when the collection was published in "two fat volumes with generous appendices of what I considered essential documents"[48] in fall 1904. "I had hoped that the book might be received as a legitimate historical study," she said, "but to my chagrin I found myself included in a new school, that of the muckrakers."[49]

Although she did not explicitly discuss her dislike of the muckrakers and their methods, Tarbell hinted that objectivity and balance were among the contested practices. She frequently argued for fairness and reporting both sides of an issue,[50] although the "radical reforming element ... had little interest in balanced findings."[51]

Individuals vs. the Masses

Tarbell's concept of the ordinary citizen and his or her role in reform is somewhat problematic because she seldom referred to ordinary people in any meaningful way in her autobiography. Mostly, the people Tarbell talked about were colleagues, leading businessmen, or political leaders. Non-elites were referred to collectively, and the working man and woman tended to be discussed only in terms of political associations (e.g., Socialists),[52] union members,[53] or generic collectives (e.g., women,[54] the poor[55]). In Tarbell's thinking, their aspirations appeared subsumed by those of the reformist elite. Criticizing the radical reformers' one-sided attacks, she wrote, "Now I was convinced that in the long run *the public they were trying to stir* would weary of vituperation, that if you were to secure permanent results the mind must be convinced."[56]

She talked briefly of organized labor's "body of votes that no political party dared defy,"[57] and said she found "many workmen were magazine readers"[58] familiar with her work. However, nowhere in the muckraking period of Tarbell's autobiography is there a clear statement of mobilizing ordinary citizens to take on the abuses of the trusts or of government, or of what the people's agenda might be. Only seldom is there even reference to reform concerns emanating from the working class. Like Steffens, Tarbell said she believed that the solutions would come from ethical business and government administration. She wrote of telling people in Kansas, "Unless you can be as efficient and as patient, as farseeing as your great competitor – laws or no laws, you will not succeed. You must make yourselves as good refiners, as good transporters, as good marketers, as ingenious, as informed, as imaginative in your legitimate undertakings as

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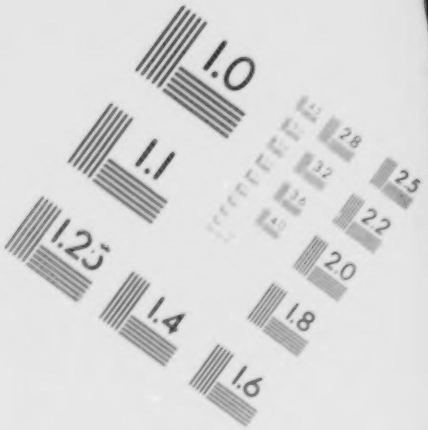
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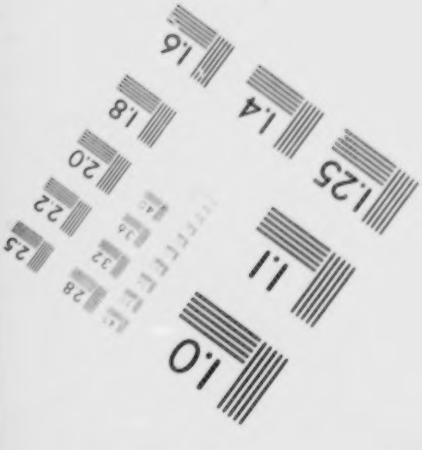
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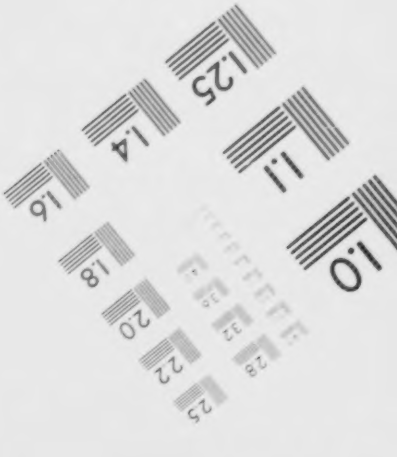
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they are in both their legitimate and illegitimate."[59] The tasks she enumerated clearly identify her audience as business and political leaders, not ordinary citizens.

Toward Better Leaders

The key to achieving the reforms Tarbell and Steffens sought was better leaders more than better followers. Their autobiographies recount frequent personal contact and correspondence with presidents, captains of industry, political leaders, and champions of reform, and always on an advisory, sometimes collaborative, level. Theodore Roosevelt received much advice from both Steffens and Tarbell, as did Presidents Cleveland and Wilson, among others. Tarbell even tells of offering to ghost-write articles for Grover Cleveland during her last two years at *McClure's* magazine.[60] When a series of lectures in Kansas and Oklahoma oil fields upset some who felt she had been co-opted by Standard Oil, "there were hardheaded independent legislators and business men in the state who consoled me."[61] Nowhere are ordinary citizens mentioned.

Researching articles that were in distinct contrast to the radical journalism other muckrakers revered, Tarbell found a metaphor that illuminates her vision of society and reform. About 1912, while doing a series on industry that she insisted was not muckraking,[62] Tarbell became fascinated with Frederick Taylor's theories of scientific management.[63]

Under Taylorism, as Tarbell discovered, "the business of management was not only planning but controlling what it planned. Management laid out ahead the day's work for each man at his machine; to him they went with their instructions, to them he went for explanations and suggestions."[64] The ideal was cooperation and recognition of interdependence between workers and managers, but Taylorism also prescribed a rigid, hierarchical system in which communication might flow up and down, but decisions could be made only at the top.[65] Hidden in Tarbell's embrace of Taylor's scientific management principles, then, is an arguable affirmation of strong and able leaders, compassionate, willing to listen, but unquestionably in charge.

"TRUTH" UNFETTERED BY FACTS: DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS

Although less well remembered than Tarbell and Steffens, David Graham Phillips is a significant figure whose work helped define muckraking and gained the genre its nickname and notoriety. George Mowry and Judson Grenier held that the 1906 series "The Treason of the Senate" in *Cosmopolitan Magazine* "was, in many respects, the climax of the muckraking movement in American journalism. The bold, outspoken, often intemperate language of an author dedicated to 'the search for truth' captures the essence of both the best and worst aspects of muckraking."[66]

Fueling Phillips' zeal, Filler said, was that in common with other muckrakers Phillips

> had seen in his lifetime the breakdown of the old moralities, the old modes of life, that had constituted the bases of a past democracy. If democracy were to be recaptured, new moralities and modes would have to be developed. And not only that: the older ones would have to be broken down completely, discredited and annihilated; they could not be revived, for they were a dead hand on the present, the means by which the trusts

> and their allies continued to grow toward that logical end of individualism: oligarchy.[67]

Phillips' muckraking began when he left newspaper journalism in 1901 to enter magazine journalism and write novels,[68] and his prolific career ended in 1911 when he was fatally wounded by a "deranged" reader[69] on January 23 and died the next day.[70] Phillips has been credited with laying "a significant part of the groundwork" for three amendments to the United States Constitution.[71] Of the Sixteenth Amendment's income tax and redistribution of national wealth, historian Irving Dillard said, "Phillips notably helped to create the necessary public opinion in support of this amendment through his newspaper and magazine articles that laid open the financial manipulations previously so largely hidden from the eyes of ordinary men and women."[72] Biographer Louis Filler contended Phillips' Senate exposés "gave form to the popular protest which finally brought about passage of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution providing for direct election of senators."[73] And Dillard said, "There can be no question that Phillips' persistent writing for a large popular audience on the subject of the political, economic and social mistreatment of women in the United States helped to bring about this major constitutional change,"[74] the Nineteenth Amendment.

Truth Vs. Facts

Phillips belonged to the school of muckrakers to whom ends justified means. To him, the power of literature and rhetoric in giving audiences a true picture of life was a greater goal than journalistic objectivity espoused by Tarbell. According to Miraldi, Phillips "often blended facts and fiction, using composite characters, fictional dialogue and unidentified sources to make his points on social issues."[75] Because of this, "The Treason of the Senate" prompted Roosevelt to coin the term muckraker to describe the genre.[76] Miraldi pointed out, however, that "unlike much of the muckraking efforts, which were well documented exposés, the 'Treason' articles left much to be desired as journalism, even though the essence of Phillips' charges was probably accurate."[77] Besides Roosevelt and members of the Senate,[78] Phillips' work even drew criticism from other journalists.[79]

"Preoccupation With the Prominent"

Phillips' letters were destroyed by his first biographer[80] and the lack of primary source material on Phillips' thoughts and motivation as a muckraker makes direct assertion of his view of the ordinary citizen problematic. However, his several biographers have noted a considerable audience for his novels and for the magazines containing his muckraking articles. Filler mentioned "a half a million" *Cosmopolitan* readers[81] of "The Treason of the Senate."

According to Filler, Phillips' circle of friends and colleagues was drawn from the elites of New York society.[82] Moreover, biographer Abe Ravitz said that in much of his writing "Phillips showed his preoccupation with the prominent and fashionable ... his involvement with the materials of his fiction did not extend to a passionate concern for an individual."[83] Thus, especially in the "Treason" series, Phillips' targets and his target audiences appear to have been the upper strata of wealth and power. This may have skewed his conceptualization of the ordinary citizen. As Filler said:

> Phillips idealized a middle class which earned its bread if not quite by the sweat of its face, in Lincoln's phrase, at least by steady, productive labor. Phillips did not have to cope with the perplexities of mass production, the assembly line, "service" industries which too often provided little service.[84]

ANALYSIS

Tarbell, Phillips, and Steffens represent three themes of the muckraking movement. Tarbell stood for the journalistic goals of objectivity, amassing copious facts and letting the facts tell the story. Phillips, on the other hand, believed that to tell the truth might require eschewing mere objective facts, a notion echoed by public journalism's co-founder Jay Rosen in the early 1990s.[85] Steffens' muckraking led him away from the battles of facts and objectivity, and from journalism itself, as he attempted to become a active partner in reform movements around the country.

This research suggests that the muckrakers, like the public journalists, sought to use the media to reconnect citizens with their government. However, they approached the task from different ends of the spectrum and with different conceptions of the terms of that reconnection.

Indeed, certain underlying assumptions and beliefs appear to link the two movements. Each is grounded in faith that an engaged and committed public can and does make good choices.[86]

According to Shapiro, "Steffens believed that man had a natural, emotional disposition to do good. When 'intelligence' swept away the ignorance of personal and social evil, this generous impulse then moved these leaders to embrace their fellow man and reform."[87]

The public journalists, too, rest their movement on an implicit belief that citizens, if brought into community discourse, will be enthusiastic for action. Merritt, for instance, said:

> Americans' general disgust with and withdrawal from public life nevertheless includes some early signs of maturing into a determination to change the way things presently work. The emerging communitarian movement, changes in corporate processes to empower workers, experimentation in new ways to operate public schools, growing discussion of new ways of organizing living spaces and communities, increased pressure for community policing, and the founding of support groups are all signs of an awakening, although it seems ever so slight, of America's civic ethic.[88]

As Charity put it, "Public journalism doesn't only aim to treat readers as citizens, it assumes that readers want to *be* citizens."[89]

It is at this point, however, that a natural delineation of the movements emerges. The muckrakers, as exemplified by Steffens, Tarbell, and Phillips but demonstrated as well in the work of Ray Stannard Baker, Upton Sinclair, and Charles Edward Russell, were the ones to select the problems of society on which they would write. The choices, however natural, were not hierarchically ordered from most severe to next severe, and as Carey has pointed out, early on "directed its attack against the 'plutocracy' and the business class."[90] The muckrakers alone made the ills they perceived in society their media agenda. Theirs were dictated diagnoses and prescriptions, and while circulation explosions on the muckraking magazines attest to the accuracy of their judgment about what the public wanted, it is worth noting that the muckrakers' virtually universal theme of bringing power to heel may have blinded them to other societal problems. For instance, despite Tarbell's concerns for equal working rights for women, scant attention was paid in the muckraking journals to the women's suffrage issue that was boiling toward culmination with the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

Public journalism's proponents, on the other hand, have argued that the appropriate agenda begins with citizens. According to Charity:

> Citizens are frustrated by the slates of "important issues" that editors and political leaders pass down to them by fiat; they're looking for an agenda that corresponds to the problems they themselves see. So while newspapers can go on trying to persuade people that this or that unpopular issue warrants attention, they'll engage citizens more if they learn to respect the priorities those citizens set for themselves, and focus news coverage tightly around them.[91]

The research suggests the hypothesis that despite similarities in the motives and methods of the muckrakers and public journalists, the two perspectives differ in their fundamental conceptualization of the relationship of press, public and government.

(Place Figure 1 here)

Leader-Centered Muckrakers

To Tarbell, Phillips, and Steffens, the task was exposing corruption and malfeasance in public life, and the goal was enlisting able, uncorrupted individuals to be leaders of government. According to Kaplan, the muckrakers "recognized that democracy was slow to purge or reverse itself, and consequently they often looked with favor on strong men who set themselves above the law."[92] These leaders' tasks would be to offer programs and a vision responsive to the citizenry in a top-down communication flow. Sloan's analysis is that the Progressive movement was brought on by fear of big business and its control of government and was "aimed primarily at attempting to take control from business and return it to the middle class."[93] For the public journalists, however, the goal is a bottom-up reconnection in which the citizens are re-energized and re-engaged in government and civic life.

(Place Figure 2 here)

Citizen-Based Public Journalism

Although at the outset the reform sought by the muckrakers is more easily recognized in the tradition of achieving honest, responsive government, the reform sought by the public journalism movement goes beyond that to one of better balance between citizens and the institutions of their political and civic life. Where the muckrakers' envisioned real corruption and real enemies in public life, the public journalists seldom claim that the government leaders are corrupt or that their policies are repressive. Their claim, instead, is that the government is rendered unrepresentative and unresponsive when citizens lose faith in their institutions and withdraw from participation.[94]

Implicit in the literature of public journalism, too, has been that government cannot or will not address problems of citizen concern unless citizens are heard and are active in promoting solutions, and here lies another conceptual departure. The two movements' relation to citizens and government can be likened to a lever and fulcrum. In the Progressive model, the voters were the fulcrum and the journalists were at the lever, while in the public journalism model journalists are the fulcrum and it is the citizens' hands on the lever. Both might move government to act, but the conceptual dynamics are very different, in part because of the differing status of the press at the beginning and end of the twentieth century.

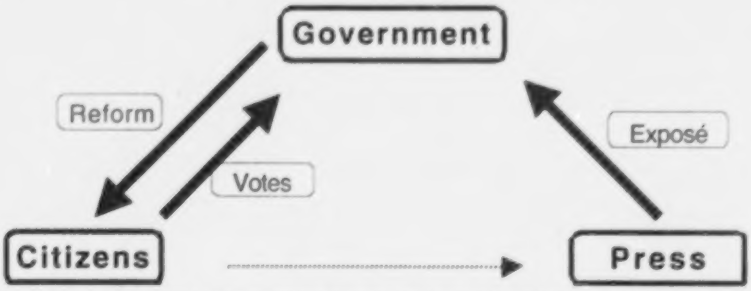
The muckrakers worked from a powerful-media model. "The power of the press is greater than ever before," wrote Will Irwin in 1911 at the beginning of a *Colliers* series muckraking the American press.[95] Publishing "the raw material for public opinion,"[96] he declared, "the American press has more influence than it ever had in any other time, in any other country. No other extrajudicial force, except religion, is half so powerful."[97] Fear of bad press and an aroused and informed citizenry was a powerful incentive for reform, and muckrakers achieved considerable success in improving society. Viewed in those terms, the muckrakers, whose "formula was simple: Diagnose, prescribe, then watch solutions unfold,"[98] could rely on the literature of exposure to achieve their ends.

At century's end, however, there was considerable doubt about the power of the press even to save itself amid critical losses in media credibility among readers, declining circulation, and a continual reduction in the number of newspapers. Public journalism was born, Rosen says, "at a time of grave doubts about the future of the press."[99] The power of the press, contested even in Irwin's day, might be seen better in some effort to reconnect citizens, promote civic dialog, and facilitate citizen solutions to societal problems than in a Quixotic attempt to muckrake in the tradition of Steffens or Phillips.

The history of the muckrakers and public journalism indeed supports the idea that public journalism is "reminiscent of progressive ideas about the need for change in an effort to improve the conditions for democracy."[100] It can even be argued that many of the apparent differences, such as in investigative zeal, may be largely matters of degree. However, each movement's conceptualization of the dynamics between citizens, government, and the press creates a significant, unappreciated difference between them.

Figure 1:

Press, People & Government — Muckraking Model, 1902-1912


Government
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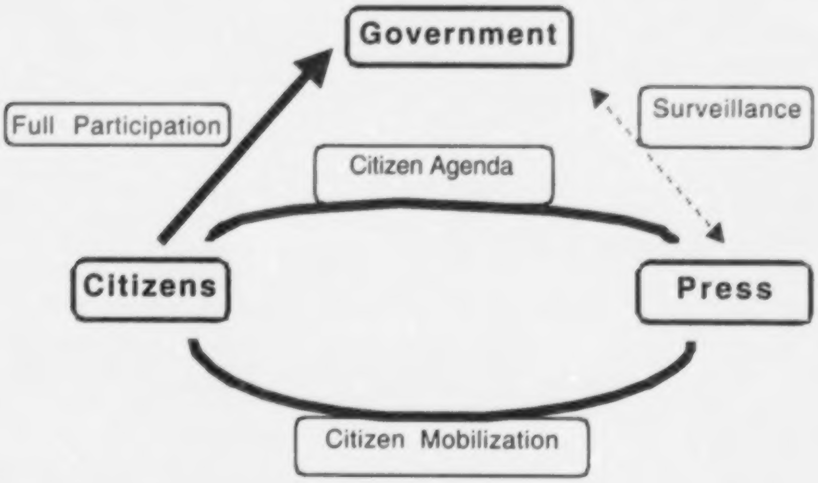
WITH AN AGENDA BUILT IN PART FROM LISTENING TO THE PUBLIC BUT LARGELY FROM THEIR OWN OBSERVATION OF SOCIETY, MUCKRAKERS EXPOSED CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT AND OTHER POWER CENTERS, NOTABLY BIG BUSINESS, TO MAKE THEM MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE PEOPLE. THE PRESSURE BROUGHT BY THE JOURNALISTS ON GOVERNMENT SET OFF A RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH CITIZENS REWARDED GOVERNMENT REFORMS — OR FORCED THEM — WITH THEIR VOTES.

Figure 2:

Press, People & Government — Public Journalism Model, 1990-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Surveillance
Citizen Agenda
Citizens
Press
Citizen Mobilization

THE PUBLIC JOURNALISM MODEL ENVISIONS CITIZENS HELPING TO BUILD THE MEDIA AGENDA THAT IN TURN PROVIDES CITIZENS INFORMATION, LEADERSHIP AND MOBILIZING SUPPORT THEY NEED TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE. THE RESULT OF THAT DISCOURSE, IT IS ENVISIONED, IS A CITIZENRY PARTICIPATING FULLY IN DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT. RATHER THAN EXPOSÉ JOURNALISM, MEDIA RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT ARE CHARACTERIZED AS SURVEILLANCE AND INFORMATION.

NOTES

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[1] See, for instance, Arthur Charity, *Doing Public Journalism* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995), 1; Davis Merritt, *Public Journalism and Public Life: Why Telling the News Is Not Enough* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1995), 6; Jay Rosen, *Getting the Connections Right: Public Journalism and the Troubles in the Press* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1996), 1; Jay Rosen and Paul Taylor, *The New News v. The Old News* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1992).

[2] Davis Merritt describes some of the history of his movement in *Public Journalism and Public Life: Why Telling the News Is Not Enough* 2nd ed. (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998). For a contemporaneous history of public journalism, see Carol Reese Dykers, "Assessing Davis Merritt's 'Public Journalism' Through His Language," in ed. Edmund Lambeth, Philip Meyer, and Esther Thorson, *Assessing Public Journalism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 57-82. Also, Dykers, *Making Journalism Public: A Case Study of Change at the Whichita Eagle,* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995.

[3] Michael Schudson, "What Public Journalism Knows about Journalism but Doesn't Know about 'Public,'" in ed. Theodore L. Glasser, *The Idea of Public Journalism (New York: Guilford Press, 1999), 118-133.*

[4] See, for instance, Robert C. Kochersberger, Jr., ed., *More Than a Muckraker: Ida Tarbell's Lifetime in Journalism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994); Robert Miraldi, "The Journalism of David Graham Phillips," *Journalism Quarterly* 63 (Spring 1986): 83. However, some others find muckraking going on at least a decade earlier. John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein, ed. *Muckraking: Past, Present and Future* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1970), 2. Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931), 357.

[5] William David Sloan, *Perspectives on Mass Communication History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991), 272.

[6] George E. Mowry and Judson A. Grenier in *David Graham Phillips, The Treason of the Senate*, George E. Mowry and Judson A. Grenier, ed. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), 9.

[7] Ibid., 10.

[8] Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 188; Robert Miraldi, ed., *The Muckrakers: Evangelical Crusaders* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), xii.

[9] Merritt and Rosen are considered the founders of the public journalism movement. Davis Merritt and Jay Rosen, *Imagining Public Journalism: An Editor and Scholar Reflect on the Birth of an Idea.* Roy Howard Clark Public Lecture in Journalism and Mass Communication Research (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University School of Journalism, 1995), 21.

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[10] Jay Rosen, *Community Connectedness: Passwords for Public Journalism* (St. Petersburg, FL: The Poynter Institute, 1993), 9.

[11] Ibid., 5.

[12] Davis Merritt, "Missing the Point," *American Journalism Review* (July/August 1996), 30.

[13] See, for instance, Rosen, *Connections*.

[14] See, for instance, Sloan, 272.

[15] The economic plight of the modern press is well-documented. See, for instance, Rosen, *Connections*, 19.

[16] Claims that the giant Gannett Co. Inc. is practicing public journalism at its more than 90 daily newspapers have been rejected by some journalists and academicians who see corporate self-interest as polluting public journalism's higher aims.

[17] Mowry and Grenier, 9.

[18] Steffens, *Autobiography*, 357.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Tarbell, 297.

[21] Ibid., 297-98.

[22] Lincoln Steffens, *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, vol 1, ed. Ella Winter and Granville Hicks (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 162.

[23] Ibid., 165.

[24] Ibid., 170.

[25] Ibid., 171.

[26] Ibid., 223.

[27] Steffens, *Autobiography*, 385.

[28] Steffens, *Letters*, 171.

[29] Ibid., 180.

[30] Ibid., 182-83.

[31] Ibid., 183.

[32] Ibid., 209.

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[33] Ibid., 241.

[34] Ibid., 222.

[35] A major focus for Steffens was Boston, where he spent a year trying to accomplish reform. *Autobiography*, 612.

[36] Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 105.

[37] Ida M. Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work: An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), 239.

[38] Ibid., 141.

[39] Ibid., 256-259.

[40] Ibid., 206.

[41] Ibid., 281.

[42] Ibid., 260.

[43] Filler, *Muckrakers*, 102.

[44] Kochersberger, 65.

[45] Tarbell, 240.

[46] Justin Kaplan, *Lincoln Steffens: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 60, 148-53; Tarbell, 241-42.

[47] Tarbell, 242.

[48] Ibid., 239.

[49] Ibid., 241.

[50] Ibid., 280.

[51] Ibid., 242.

[52] See, for instance, Tarbell, 307.

[53] See, for instance, Tarbell, 278.

[54] Ibid., 35, 279.

[55] Ibid., 273; 280.

[56] Ibid., 242. Emphasis added.

[57] Ibid., 278.

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[58] Ibid., 282.

[59] Ibid., 250.

[60] Ibid., 269.

[61] Ibid., 250.

[62] Ibid., 296.

[63] Ibid., 292.

[64] Ibid., 294.

[65] Eric M. Eisenberg and H.L. Goodall, Jr. *Organizational Communication: Balancing Creativity and Constraint* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 65. Eisenberg and Goodall claim that Taylor's scientific principles rested on the assumption of "a fundamental distinction between managers and employees: managers think, workers work."

[66] Mowry and Grenier, 9.

[67] Filler, 248.

[68] Miraldi, "Phillips," 83.

[69] Harrison and Stein, 9.

[70] Mowry and Grenier (45) identify the gunman as "a member of an old Washington family, Fitzhugh C. Goldsborough, who mistakenly believed that Phillips had been persecuting Goldsborough's sister in his novels."

[71] In Harrison and Stein, 8.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Louis Filler, *Voice of the Democracy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), 6.

[74] Harrison and Stein, 8.

[75] Miraldi, "Phillips," 87.

[76] Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 253; Kaplan, 60, 148-153; Mowry and Grenier, 216-225.

[77] Kaplan, 88.

[78] See, for instance, Mowry and Grenier, 36.

[79] Filler, *Muckrakers*, 253; Mowry and Grenier, 38. Sloan (272) claims that muckrakers brought their own downfall because "many poorly researched articles had made readers question the credibility of the

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muckrakers." Thornton also finds evidence of "an intensification of the differences in journalistic standards between journalists and non-journalists" in the muckraking decade. Brian Thornton, "Muckraking Journalists and Their Readers: Perceptions of Professionalism," *Journalism History* 21 (Spring 1995): 38.

[80] Miraldi, "Phillips," 84.

[81] Filler, *Voice*, 6.

[82] Ibid., 127.

[83] Abe C. Ravitz, *David Graham Phillips* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1966), 53.

[84] Filler, *Voice*, 186.

[85] Jay Rosen, "Beyond Objectivity," *Nieman Reports, 47*, Winter 1993, 48-53.

[86] James W. Carey, "In Defense of Public Journalism," in Glasser, 55.

[87] Patrick F. Palermo, *Lincoln Steffens* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 74.

[88] Merritt, *Public Journalism*, 6.

[89] Charity, 19. Emphasis in original.

[90] Carey, 55.

[91] Charity, 5.

[92] Kaplan, 119.

[93] Sloan, 271.

[94] Ironically, it has been suggested that the muckrakers' hard-hitting exposure of societal ills promoted citizen disillusion and disengagement from the political process. See Thomas Leonard, "Did the Muckrakers Muck Up Progress," in Miraldi, *Evangelical Crusaders*, 131-55. Public journalists have leveled a similar charge at traditional journalists of the twentieth century.

[95] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper," reprinted in *The American Newspaper* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969), 7.

[96] Ibid., 8.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Miraldi, *The Muckrakers*, xiii.

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[99] Rosen, *Getting the Connections Right,* 1.

[100] Hanno Hardt, "Reinventing the Press for the Age of Commercial Appeals: Writings on and about Public Journalism," in Glasser, 202.

HARRY S. ASHMORE:
ON THE WAY TO EVERYWHERE

Submitted to:

Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications
History Division

Submitted by:

Nathania K. Sawyer
University of Arkansas at Little Rock

Contact at:

19 Valley Court
Little Rock, Arkansas 72204
(501) 223-5165
nksawyer@aol.com

HARRY S. ASHMORE:
ON THE WAY TO EVERYWHERE

ABSTRACT

Harry S. Ashmore, a legendary figure in journalism circles, is best remembered as a Pulitzer-Prize-winning editor and prolific book author. Yet, little detail has been published about his life and career. This historical research paper explores his youth, education, and early career and provides insight into the life of a man who rose above his traditional Southern roots to become a voice of reason during the 1957 desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School.

HARRY S. ASHMORE:
ON THE WAY TO EVERYWHERE

The 1957 desegregation of Central High School brought national attention to Little Rock, Arkansas, a flash point at which many volatile forces ignited—segregationists, integrationists, states'-righters, federalists, a president, and a governor.

Executive editor Harry Ashmore and the *Arkansas Gazette* staff stood in the middle of this quagmire of political and social forces, covering the unfolding events and speaking as a voice of reason during the turbulent times. Their efforts garnered an unprecedented two Pulitzer Prizes in a single year—one for the newspaper's overall coverage of the crisis and one for a series of editorials written by Ashmore.

Many people might view Ashmore's achievement as a lucky break for a newspaperman—a case of being in the right place at the right time. However, a closer look at Harry Ashmore's life reveals a man who spent two decades preparing himself to participate in one of the biggest stories of the 20th century and its aftermath. His life intermingled with the civil rights movement and the politics of sociological change from his early career until his death in 1998.

More than forty years have passed since the Central High crisis. Some of the words and images have been preserved for easy access in books, documentaries, oral history projects, and museums. But Harry Ashmore's generation is passing away, and with it goes the image of him as anything but a one-dimensional character—the crusading editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* during the desegregation crisis.

He never wrote an autobiography. In some of his books, he offers some biographical and ideological information about himself, but only as detail to a larger subject.

This paper explores his career and attempts to capture his voice through many quotations from his letters, speeches, and books. The research primarily focuses on the first half of his life, beginning with his childhood in South Carolina and ending just before the Central High School desegregation crisis in 1957—the critical years in which he developed as an editor and formed the basis for his stand during the desegregation crisis.

When Ashmore received the offer to join the staff of the *Gazette* in 1947, he discussed this option with his wife, Barbara. She responded, "Little Rock! That's not even on the way to anywhere." Many years later, he recalled that remark and pointed out her error by reminding her the Little Rock "turned out to be on the way to everywhere."[1]

"Everywhere" included speaking engagements around the country, editorship of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and a career among an illustrious group of thinking men at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. As his career progressed, Ashmore published 12 books, became a sought-after author for many national publications and a popular interviewee for other authors and historians who wrote on civil rights issues.

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RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Literature Review

Harry Ashmore's life had many facets. As a "liberal" young newspaperman, he established a journalistic reputation as an up-and-comer in South Carolina. As a voice of reason and social conscience, he won a Pulitzer Prize for his editorials at the *Arkansas Gazette*. As a behind-the-scenes counselor to historic figures such as Adlai Stevenson, Robert Maynard Hutchins, and Earl Warren, he influenced history.

Yet a void exists in published works on his life. Previous research focuses on the coverage of the Central High School desegregation[2] or mentions Ashmore in the context of editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* when discussing other key participants, events, or themes in desegregation and civil rights movements.[3] Walker[4] discusses Ashmore's concept of gradualism in racial integration and includes information on the background of school integration and evidence to support his thesis that Ashmore believed in gradualism. However, this research offers little information about Ashmore outside of his opinions on gradualism.

Edmonds[5] examines newspaper editors from three Southern states and their positions on civil rights. He argues that Ashmore's gradualist approach toward desegregation "did not provide the clear direction that the people of Little Rock, cast adrift by the Brown decision, needed to find their way."[6] His research only provides a brief overview of Ashmore's career.

Newberry[7] discusses the moderate stance taken by so-called liberal Southern journalists, including Ashmore, but does not delve into his life in any depth.

W.J. Cash's *The Mind of the South*[8] provides insight into the development of the social and racial mores with which Ashmore dealt, as does Ralph McGill's *The South and the Southerner.*[9]

John Egerton's *Speak Now Against the Day*[10] provides not only some glimpses of Ashmore but also solid background on the psyche of the generation in power at the time of the Civil Rights movement.

Various biographies provide information about Ashmore's relationships with journalists and politicians; *Ralph McGill: Reporter*;[11] *Ralph McGill: A Biography*;[12] *Fulbright: A Biography*;[13] and *Faubus: The Life and Times of an American Prodigal*[14] in particular are helpful.

Almost every book written about the Little Rock desegregation crisis mentions Ashmore but primarily in reference to the award-winning editorials or the *Gazette*'s coverage. They provide excellent information on the background to and events of September 1957 through September 1959. *Understanding the Little Rock Crisis* includes an extensive list of references and resources for researchers seeking further information about the desegregation of Central High School.[15]

Sources

Primary sources for this research project consist of materials from archives and special collections around the country, including correspondence files from the *Arkansas Gazette*, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Adlai Stevenson, Ralph McGill, Orval Faubus, and Harry Ashmore collections; transcripts of interviews from oral history programs and various authors; transcripts from Ashmore's speeches and televised appearances; books and magazine articles written by and about Ashmore, and about civil rights and school desegregation; newspaper articles and editorials Ashmore wrote; and interviews with Ashmore's family, friends, and colleagues.

Purpose

The events of September 1957 through September 1959 have been documented, discussed, and dissected by people in almost every social sciences field. Books ranging from personal accounts of the Central High crisis to studies of the sociological and political influences that shaped the events offer in-depth information and insights into the complex situation. This paper does not attempt to document or analyze the desegregation crisis or the impact of the *Arkansas Gazette*'s editorial position. Instead, it traces the life of the complex man who spent his entire career dealing with issues surrounding the civil rights movement. It offers the reader the opportunity to know Ashmore through liberal use of quotes from his correspondence, writings, and interviews.

Additionally, this paper is an attempt to gather original source material regarding Ashmore's career before of the Central High crisis. It draws from many original source documents ranging from early clips of Ashmore's newspaper writings to correspondence files of key historical figures and institutional archives.

STANDING AT THE CROSSROAD

In 1947, Harry Ashmore participated in a panel presentation at the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) annual meeting and spoke about his experiences as a one-man editorial page. He said, "The defects of the one-man page are many and varied."

> The schedule has a tendency to make the editor too remote perhaps from the community. Certainly, the lack of time and opportunity for genuine research has forced me too often to avoid discussion of problems that should have been discussed. Sometimes I have been guilty of passing on half-baked opinions which I might have altered had I had a little more time and chance to study this matter under discussion....I do believe, however, that the editor of a small paper running a one-man editorial page must recognize the limitations of that job and accept it. If he confuses himself with the editorial staff of The New York Times, he is going to spread himself pretty thin and it is not only that his cosmic opinions are going to be without any particular value, but they are also going to be dangerous because they will feed and contribute to the prejudices of his half-informed readers.[16]

Ashmore's knowledge, manner, and manner of expressing himself impressed many of the veteran newspaper editors in the audience, including John Netherland Heiskell from the *Arkansas Gazette*.[17] At that time, J.N. "Ned" Heiskell was 74 years old and had been part-owner of the *Gazette* since 1902.[18] He viewed Ashmore as a candidate to meet one of his most pressing needs—a successor.

Heiskell's son and heir apparent to the newspaper had been killed in a military airplane crash on 29 November 1943.[19] Lt. Carrick White Heiskell flew the treacherous mountain region in China, Burma, and India known as "the Hump" as an army pilot, and the fatal crash occurred during a landing.[20]

Without a proper successor, Heiskell feared for the future of his beloved *Gazette*—the oldest newspaper west of the Mississippi. After Carrick's death, Heiskell invited his son-in-law, Hugh B. Patterson, Jr., to join the newspaper and learn the business end of the operation.[21] This arrangement created a line of succession for the ownership of the newspaper but not for the editorial side of the business.

When he returned from the ASNE convention, Heiskell invited Ashmore to Little Rock to discuss his joining the newspaper as editor of the editorial page.[22]

Ashmore wanted to move from the *Charlotte News* to another Southern newspaper with a larger circulation and wider sphere of influence. However, he knew that he needed to proceed cautiously because of his so-called "liberal" inclinations:

> Since no more than a dozen major Southern newspapers openly supported the positions on racial matters I advanced in the News, the limited range of employment possibilities for one of my persuasion was another of the facts of Southern life I was constrained to give due consideration. An editor might defy his newspaper's owners on occasion...but a continuing standoff would soon become intolerable.[23]

Ashmore's dedication to the South went beyond mere loyalty to the region. He wrote, "If I read the signs correctly, I was situated in the middle of the most significant politico-socioeconomic development to be found anywhere in the United States, and I had been consciously preparing myself to deal with it.[24]

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

When Harry Scott Ashmore was born on 28 July 1916 in Greenville, South Carolina, he entered the world on the cusp of the New South. He was separated from the antebellum South by only one generation, and both his grandfathers had served in the Confederate Army.[25]

Ashmore belonged to large Scotch–Irish clans on both sides of his family.[26] Although the Ashmore clan had strong ties to the land, the South's agrarian society began to shift to a more industrial base and members of the family began to move to the city. Harry Ashmore's father moved to Greenville and worked as a partner in the leading shoe store in the town.[27] He married Elizabeth "Bessie" Scott,[28] and they raised two sons, William, Jr. and Harry Scott Ashmore.[29]

Ashmore led a comfortable life until the Great Depression took its toll on the family business and his father declared bankruptcy in the early 1930s.[30]

Bessie Ashmore was determined to ensure that her sons received a good education. Both William, Jr. and Harry Ashmore attended Clemson, and each, in turn, served as editor on the school newspaper, *The Tiger*.

Attending Clemson was Ashmore's only viable option for a college education because it was a state-supported school that had no tuition fees. Ashmore joined the Reserve Officers Training Corp (ROTC) because the "miniscule cash uniform allowance was important to a chronically broke student."[31]

During this time, Ashmore began to recognize the racial status quo that prevailed among his family and friends. The social order of the day was a modernized version of the master–slave relationship in which most whites held a paternalistic view of the blacks with whom they interacted—a hierarchy sustained because most blacks could find work only as domestic servants or in other menial jobs that paid subsistent wages.[32]

As Ashmore studied history and literature at Clemson, he became more aware of the impact the Depression was having on the shifting cultural patterns in the South.

> Most of my classmates had been similarly exposed to the unsettling threat of poverty, and we were aware that change was the order of the day. Yet I do not recall that in our classes or in our bull sessions there was any serious consideration of the effect this might have on what was usually capitalized as the Southern Way of Life. It was not that the peculiar institutions shaped by our Confederate heritage were unduly exalted or even much discussed; on our remote foothill campus they were simply accepted as ordained and presumed to be immutable.[33]

But Ashmore did discuss the idea and concepts of the changing South. He was able to look beyond the status quo and acknowledge the changing times—something that many of his contemporaries were unable to do. For example, despite growing up in the same household and having similar educations and experiences, William and Harry Ashmore held divergent views on race relations and the civil rights movement. Harry's daughter, Anne, described the difference by saying her father was NAACP and her uncle NRA.[34]

GREENVILLE PIEDMONT AND *GREENVILLE NEWS*

After graduating from Clemson in 1937,[35] Ashmore began his reporting career at the *Greenville* [South Carolina] *Piedmont*, the local afternoon newspaper, earning $12.50 a week as a cub reporter.[36] He covered fires, crimes, strikes, bankruptcy proceedings, and civic events.[37] As he became more experienced, he was assigned the county beat and spent his days among the Yellow Dog Democrats— "those so identified since Reconstruction because of their declared willingness to vote for a yellow dog if the Democrats nominated one."[38]

Ashmore began writing a column titled "From Where I Sit" in 1937.[39] His skill with words and ability to inject humor into any subject are apparent in these early works:

> Up in the hills these dark nights you can hear a soft whirring sound as generations of hardbitten hillbillies turn in their graves at the carryings-on of their children.[40]
>
> This is being written on a cold, gray early morning after three days of alternating between the cold, gray state penitentiary, the cold, gray state hospital, and the cold, gray State Baptist convention in Columbia.....Neither of the three institutions made any effort to keep me.[41]

In 1938, Ashmore's city editor, George Chaplin, offered him an opportunity to take an expense-paid vacation into the region above the Mason–Dixon line. Chaplin wanted a series of articles on working conditions in the Northern industrial slums because Greenville—the self-proclaimed "textile center of the South"—had been criticized by Northern journalists "bent on exposing the low-wage, stretch-out practices that prevailed among the militantly ununion Southern cotton mills."[42]

This six-article series—which chronicled his trek deep into Yankee territory and reached the preformed conclusion that the North was as bad as the South in respect to working conditions —was picked up by many Southern newspapers through syndication[43] and received favorable comments.[44]

Ashmore referred to this series as his "first and last effort to exploit the ingrained defensiveness of my fellow Southerners."

> By the time the articles reached print, any indignation I may have felt was beginning to give way to contrition. As the predictably favorable reaction began to pour in, I recognized that this kind of tit-for-tat journalism only served to provide an excuse for exploitation of Southern workers—and was, indeed, a continuation in its own way of the anti-Yankee countermoralization I had begun to see as a diversion which prevented Southerners from facing up to their own problems in their own terms.[45]

Ashmore's own writing did not reflect any particular sensitivity to race relations during this period of his career. He used the vernacular of the day as casually as any of his contemporaries. One of his 1938 Christmas articles ran under the headline "2,500 Pickaninnies Joyous as 'Sho Nuff' Santa Comes."[46]

Eventually, Ashmore was transferred to the *Piedmont*'s morning counterpart, the *Greenville News*, and assigned to cover the legislature sessions in Columbia and the statewide election campaigns.[47] While covering the political scene, Ashmore

> ...came to appreciate the looking-glass quality of political discourse and to understand that it is designed to reflect what the beholders wants to see. This accounted for what had begun to dawn on me as a singular fact: Race, although it had shaped so much of the nation's history, no longer had any place on the political agenda, except as a diversion."[48]

NIEMAN FELLOW

Ashmore applied for a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard and was accepted as a fellow for the school year 1941-1942.[49] In his application, he stated,

> There is a new movement stirring in the South, a movement of young men just beginning to realize that the traditions they were taught to respect have also become the chains that anchor their homeland while the rest of the world moves ahead. I have become a part of that movement and I'd like to take a year off and then go back into the fight—for that is what it is all the way—armed with the background and prestige a Nieman Fellowship would give me.[50]

Initially planning to study American history, government, and economics, Ashmore's course of study migrated toward the history department.

In the Northern academic circle, Ashmore found himself viewed as a paradox as people assumed his enlightened views on race made him "a pariah, if not a martyr"[51] in his native region. He wrote, "The conviction that one could not be pro-Negro without being anti-South was as firmly held among neoabolitionists as it was among Daughters of the Confederacy."[52]

THE IRON MEN OF METZ

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor cut short Ashmore's year at Harvard. His ROTC experience may have given him some extra money in college, but it also ensured that he would be called to service almost immediately. In February 1942, Ashmore was ordered to Fort Benning, Georgia, for training as a second lieutenant in the infantry.[53] He was assigned to the newly activated 95th Infantry Division at Camp Swift, Texas, under Major General Harry L. Twaddle.[54]

In August 1944, the division sailed to Liverpool, England, where it disembarked. In September, the division became part of Lt. General George Patton's Third Army, a part of the 20th "Ghost" Corps in France. The division earned honors—and the nickname "The Iron Men of Metz"—when they captured the heavily fortified, German-held city.[55]

As the assistant G-3 officer, Ashmore worked closely with General Twaddle and coordinated the activities of the division. He described his working conditions in a letter to J.E. Dowd of the *Charlotte* [North Carolina] *Observer*: "I'm holed up now in the cellar of a shattered house… The forts of the Siegfried line are only a few thousand yards away and the Germans are dropping artillery shells with a frequency that discourages personal postwar planning."[56]

Ashmore was promoted to the rank of Lt. Colonel shortly before he was reassigned to the Pentagon after V-E Day.[57] Although dimly aware of the growing racial friction at home,[58] Ashmore didn't realize the full impact until he moved to Washington:

> The Operations Division at the Pentagon was wired into the White House at the highest policy level, and the capital was full of newspaper colleagues who could fill me in on accumulated news and gossip from the home front. I was soon convinced that the geographic and psychological dislocations of the war years had brought on a new era in race relations—one in which it would no longer be possible to separate the so-called social issue from the effort to obtain full civil rights for blacks.[59]

CHARLOTTE NEWS

During the war, J.E. Down of the *Charlotte News* contacted Ashmore about his postwar plans. Ashmore's response included a glimpse of the editor he was about to become:

> Some day, when the weariness has passed, I will want to get back into the old fight, of which this war is a military phase. I've come to believe that the important things, the essential freedoms, the democratic processes, are luxuries, not inalienable rights, and the price we must pay for them is high. Sometimes we fight to preserve them with guns, sometimes with typewriters, but always we must stand ready to fight.[60]

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Ashmore joined the staff of the *News* and assumed the editorial page editor chair previously held by Wilbur Joseph (W.J.) Cash, author of *The Mind of the South.*[61]

He sensed the shifting attitudes of his generation:

> I had no illusion that many of these had come home from the war imbued with a passion for social justice. But I thought I could detect among them a new permissiveness; they seemed to me no longer prepared, as our fathers had been, to sacrifice their self-interest on the altar of white supremacy. But if, as this implied, Cash's savage ideal had been considerably watered down, public opinion still imposed limits on political action.[62]

U.S. Supreme Court decisions eliminating the "white primary"[63] and segregation in graduate schools[64] heralded the changing times and provided an opportunity for interested parties to speak out for other changes. Ashmore was ready to take up his pen and begin his battle for civil rights and the New South. In later years, Ashmore wrote about this period of his life:

> When I assumed the editorial chair at the News I understood that the job called for a professional Southerner—not one of those who respond with a literary rebel yell to any fancied slight to the honor of Dixie, but one who could apply his ingrained sense of the region's unique character to the effort to determine where the South might be going.[65]
>
> [I]t seemed to me that my first obligation was to try to prepare my readers to cope with a reality most of them refused to recognize—the great, impersonal forces of change that were bringing the region to the day when white southerners, not yet willing to accept blacks as equals, would be confronted by black southerners who were no longer willing to accept anything less."[66]

Ashmore learned early in his editorial writing career that "a reasoned argument for justice could attract considerable support as long as there was no implication of social equality."[67] He used this voice-of-reason approach in his editorials for change on many fronts—two-party politics, racial and religious tolerance, the vote for Negroes, and higher pay for teachers.[68]

When the *News* acquired a new owner, Ashmore ascended to the position of editor.[69] His reputation as an editorial writer was growing, as was his network of fellow editors across the country. He was pleased to accept an invitation to speak at the 1947 ASNE conference on his experiences as a one-man editorial page. That speech decided his future.

ARKANSAS GAZETTE

When Harry Ashmore came to Little Rock to discuss joining the *Arkansas Gazette* with J.N. Heiskell, neither had an inkling of the future they would share. On the surface, they seemed a mismatched pair. Ashmore described Heiskell as

> … a scholarly man, and in manner a conventional one, but his ingrained sense of justice made him an unshakable civil libertarian. His views on race were those of enlightened members of his generation; he was, as Robert Donovan said of Harry Truman, concerned with justice, not social equality, which did not seem to him either desirable or possible.[70]

Demagogues and Dixiecrats

Ashmore began working at the *Gazette* in September 1947 during one of the hottest periods on record in the state.[71] Less than a month after Ashmore joined the *Gazette*, the political climate in the state became hotter when the White House released a report titled "To Secure These Rights."[72] This document reported the conclusions of Harry S Truman's 15-member President's Committee on Civil Rights, which recommended an aggressive, ambitious program to ensure equal rights under the law.[73]

This forthright stance on the race issue created a rift in the previously formidable Democratic Party in the South. Some of the Southern governors formed a resistance party known as the States' Rights Jeffersonian Democrats,[74] later dubbed the "Dixiecrats" by Bill Weisner of the *Charlotte News*.[75] Arkansas' governor, Benjamin Travis Laney, Jr., was selected to be the permanent chairman of the group[76] as it began its anti-Truman campaign.[77]

Ashmore battled the Dixiecrats by lobbying for party loyalty and reasoning that a rift in the Democratic party would only benefit the Republicans.[78] Ashmore debated the issue with Laney at a town hall meeting in Little Rock that was broadcast statewide by radio.[79]

In October 1948, Ashmore spoke at the Southern Political Science Association at Washington and Lee University. He talked about the growing number of Negro voters in the South and said, "The Negro voter has arrived in the South. We may greet him with fury, as the Dixiecrats have, or with rejoicing as in the case of the Progressives. But we cannot ignore him."[80]

Ashmore's next national exposure was in New York City in late November when he appeared in a nationally broadcast debate on "What Should We Do about Race Segregation." Ashmore and Hodding Carter, Sr., editor and publisher of the *Mississippi Delta Democrat-Times* debated with Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Ray Sprigle from the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*.[81]

Editorials

During his first year at the *Gazette*, Ashmore's efforts focused on familiarizing himself with his new hometown, building his network of key contacts, and learning the nuances of Arkansas politics.

In December, Ashmore wrote his first editorial touching on civil rights. The topic was a Supreme Court decision ordering a new trial for a Mississippi Negro who was convicted by an all-white jury. When the Court ruled that jury-selection plans could not be structured in such a way as to exclude representatives from any racial group, Ashmore's editorial read,

> Certainly the court has demonstrated by now that it will no longer recognize any of the legal sophistries by which Negroes have been denied rights clearly guaranteed them by the Constitution. Most Southerners have accepted the situation in good grace and Negroes are voting and serving on juries in increasing numbers throughout the region. This has been true in Arkansas for a good many years, and as our neighbors across the river might note, the skies have not yet fallen.[82]

Promotion to Executive Editor

J.N. Heiskell and Hugh Patterson were pleased with Ashmore and promoted him to the position of executive editor in September 1948,[83] giving him control of both the news and editorial departments.

Ashmore worked with Patterson to update the newsroom a dreary office where items such as desks, chairs, and screens for the windows in the non-air-conditioned building were considered unnecessary luxuries. Patterson said, "It was just right out of Dickens…green eyeshades and everything."[84] Former *Gazette* staff remember sitting on barrels and using orange crates for desks, using wads of cut-up newsprint leftover from the ends of the rolls of paper used on the web press instead of notepads, and picking bugs out of their pastepots when the hapless insects would fly in through the open windows at night attracted by the naked lightbulbs.[85]

Southern Governors' Conference

Sidney (Sid) Sanders McMath succeeded Laney as governor of Arkansas in 1949. McMath had a reputation as a "Southern liberal and racial moderate."[86] The editorial position of the *Gazette* dovetailed well with his agenda, as both were in favor of improving the quality of education at Arkansas' black college, repealing poll taxes, establishing an anti-lynching law, and including blacks on state boards and commissions.[87]

When the Southern Governors' Conference met in Hot Springs, Arkansas, in November 1951, Governor McMath asked Ashmore to speak to the group on civil rights, a previously avoided topic at the annual meeting.[88] Ashmore spoke to the heart of the growing racial conflict.

> I know of no subject that has produced more pure bombast, more fuzzy moralizing, or more sentimental maundering than this....
>
> For every genuine radical or cynical political opportunist who exploits the race question for his own ends, there are ten thousand sober, sincere, essentially conservative Americans who have accepted the proposition set forth in the civil rights program proposed by President Truman and embodied in the platform of the Republican Party. And the more we strike back in blind reaction to their demands, the more convinced they become that we are all misbegotten racists who will respond to nothing less than federal coercion. It is the melancholy truth that some of those who—I suppose, sincerely—have cast themselves in the role of protectors of Southern institutions are in fact the region's most dangerous enemies.[89]

Ashmore's speech drew strong reaction from his audience. Herman Talmadge of Georgia walked out in the middle of the address, and James F. Byrnes of South Carolina only could say, "Why, I believe I know that boy's family."[90]

Ashmore Project

Until the Supreme Court ruled racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case,[91] the doctrine of "separate but equal" from *Plessy v. Ferguson*[92] largely defined race relations in the South.

As the Brown case made its way through the court system, the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, decided to undertake a comprehensive survey of the biracial education system. Clarence H. Faust, president of the Fund, approached Ashmore to head the project.[93] Ashmore accepted the project after discussing it with Heiskell and Patterson. He explained the need for this research by saying,

> …there was little reliable information on the actual disparities within the dual systems. Statistical data involving black schools had been so neglected, and frequently doctored, that the official records provided only a limited basis for estimating what would be required to revamp the system.[94]

Armed with the blessing of Heiskell and Patterson, Ashmore headed the group of forty social scientists and legal scholars examining the available data and gathering information on the dual school systems.[95]

The resulting book—*The Negro and the Schools*—was released the day before the Court handed down its decision in the Brown case.[96]

The statistics in the book demonstrated the disparity in the education of blacks and whites—especially in the South. The Ashmore Project, as the Fund chose to title the report, was given to members of the Supreme Court in draft form by former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts.[97] Ashmore doubted if the document factored into the court's decision on Brown[98] but was told by Chief Justice Earl Warren that the justices used the report as a source when drafting the implementation decree for Brown II in 1955.[99]

The Commonwealth College Incident

In the early 1950s, Wisconsin Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's anti-Communist campaign played on the fears of post-World War II Americans who recently had watched China fall to Communist forces.[100] By 1954, the tide of McCarthyism had receded, but the Red Scare remained.[101]

That year, Orval Faubus—a relative unknown on the state level—ran for the office of governor of Arkansas against the incumbent, Francis A. Cherry. In the Democratic primary election, Faubus garnered 34 percent of the vote to Cherry's 48 percent. Two other candidates divided the remaining 18 percent.[102] As the runoff election drew closer, Cherry supporters saw the gap of votes closing between the two men.

The Cherry handlers reported that, as a teenager, Faubus had attended Commonwealth College, a "left-wing self-help school established in the Ozarks during the depression years."[103]

What happened next became a legend in the history of Orval Faubus and Harry Ashmore—an ironic twist given their future relationship. According to Ashmore,

> ...Faubus, in his turn, panicked and issued what amounted to a flat denial that he had ever set foot on the Commonwealth campus—this in the face of documentary evidence in our own files that he had at least been present long enough to be identified in a school publication.[104]

Edwin Dunaway, a former prosecuting attorney and state Supreme Court justice asked Ashmore to meet with Faubus to discuss tactics. Ashmore complied and wrote a speech for Faubus to explain his presence at Commonwealth.

The speech—a masterpiece of political rhetoric—resounded with the right mix of humility, charity, and artful dodging. Faubus explained the "misunderstanding" regarding his denial of having attended the institution.

> ...Francis Cherry now says that I denied ever having been at Commonwealth College.
>
> This is a lie—and Francis Cherry knows it is a lie. The story of my brief connection with the college has been known in Madison County for many years.... A reporter asked me if I had ever been a student at Commonwealth College. I told him I had not—and the next morning in a speech at Hughes I explained in detail that while I had spent a few days on the Commonwealth campus some 19 years ago—less than two weeks as best I can recall it—that I had never enrolled, never paid any tuition, and never attended a class.[105]

He went on to tell the audience the circumstances that led him to the institution of higher learning and his quick realization that he could not stay.

> It is a story, God knows, of which I have no reason to be ashamed—the story of a young man, raised in poverty in the rugged Ozark Mountains, a young man

> trying against great odds in those grinding depression years to complete his education, a young man who went out of the green valley of his youth to a struggling little college where, he had been told, a poor boy could work for an education. It was thus that I went to Commonwealth College—in search of an opportunity I did not find....[106]

Faubus credited Ashmore with turning the tide and told him he had a "blank check" with him.[107]

In an internal *Gazette* memo written during the height of the Central High School desegregation crisis, Ashmore acknowledged the irony of his involvement with the Commonwealth College incident when he stated, "Many people believe, and I concur, that our prompt action in this case saved Faubus from defeat. (Just call me Frankenstein.)"[108]

Brown II

In May 1955, one year after the original ruling, the Supreme Court ordered local school boards to desegregate the schools at the earliest possible date and instructed the federal district courts to ensure compliance.[109] Ashmore was pleased with the Court's ruling and applauded the proposed implementation plan.

> It is my considered opinion that the Court's handling of the complex and explosive school segregation cases may very well rank as the greatest act of judicial statesmanship in the nation's history. The unequivocal initial ruling, the year's cooling off period, and the moderate procedures outlined in today's orders remanding the cases have enabled the South to see the issue in perspective.[110]

The timing of the release of *The Negro and the Schools* and the subsequent publicity made Ashmore an instant expert on the school desegregation issue.

STEVENSON CAMPAIGN

During the 1952 presidential election, Ashmore had supported the candidacy of Adlai Stevenson. He admired the governor from Illinois and described him as "one of the great conversationalists of the day—witty, perceptive, often ironic at his own expense—with a curiosity and willingness to listen rare among politicians of his stature."[111]

After Stevenson lost the general election to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Ashmore wrote Stevenson to commiserate on the defeat, but he also shared his pride in the candidate.[112]

As the 1956 election year approached, Harry Ashmore encouraged and even baited Stevenson to stake his claim for the Democratic nomination. In an editorial he quoted Carmine de Sapio of Tammany Hall, who said,

> Any Democrat should feel honored to have bestowed upon him the high honor of designation for the presidency of his country. I do not think anyone, under our system of government, should remain coy and have to be drafted.[113]

Stevenson's response deflected Ashmore's thrust and parried with a question back to Ashmore,

> Does it strike you that "coyness" is what the other fellow does while you yourself are engaged in the honorable pastime of "playing them close to the chest"? Or that some who use this particular form of criticism—to which I admit a special sensitivity—would be among the first to comment condescendingly right now on any alternative action as premature?[114]

On 21 September 1955, an item appeared in the *New York Post* announcing that Stevenson had selected Ashmore to be his press secretary.[115] This news was tantamount to an announcement of Stevenson's candidacy for the presidential nomination in 1956.

Indeed, Ashmore took a year's leave of absence from the *Gazette* and moved to Chicago in mid-October 1955.[116]

Ashmore described his role in the campaign this way:

> My title was personal assistant to the unannounced candidate, and at a press conference Stevenson defined my role as providing advice on "substance, issues, and problems." I was also expected to provide a conspicuously non-Ivy League persona in Stevenson's immediate entourage, and establish an informal relationship with the media. The term had not yet been coined, but as the

> correspondents began to arrive at our downtown headquarters I soon realized that I had become a spin doctor.[117]

Ashmore wrote copious memos to Stevenson and provided strategy notes throughout the campaign.[118] At one point, he suggested that Stevenson consider Orval Faubus, the progressive governor of Arkansas, as a vice presidential candidate.[119]

Southern Manifesto

Stevenson supported the Supreme Court's decisions for school desegregation, and Ashmore's responsibilities included making that message palatable for Southern audiences.

Ashmore's optimism was dashed with the introduction of the "The Declaration of Constitutional Principles" in Congress, signed by 101 of the South's 128 senators and congressmen.[120] The Southern Manifesto—as the document came to be known—was "a states' rights doctrine that called for resistance to integration and discouragement of compliance with the federal law."[121] The Southern Manifesto effectively split the Democratic party, much as the Dixiecrats had in 1952.

Departure from the Stevenson Campaign

Early in the summer of 1956, J.N. Heiskell underwent major surgery, and Hugh Patterson contacted Ashmore about returning to the *Gazette*. Ashmore stayed with the Stevenson campaign until just after the Democratic National Convention in July 1956 and then returned to Arkansas.[122]

EPITAPH FOR DIXIE

Epitaph for Dixie was Ashmore's first attempt at writing a book based on his views of the changing social and political landscape in the South. Ashmore chose to produce the book through a commercial publisher rather than through an academic press as had been done with *The Negro and the Schools*.

The original contract was signed in 1955 and called for Ashmore to deliver the manuscript in June 1956.[123] Ashmore's decision to join the Stevenson campaign in 1955 delayed his work on the book, and he tried to back out of the contract because he wouldn't be able to deliver the manuscript on time.[124]

Norton extended the contract, and the draft of *Epitaph for Dixie* was completed in June 1957. Ashmore sent it to some of his friends—including Harold Fleming, Ralph McGill, and Robert Hutchins—for comments.[125] Fleming wrote to Ashmore that he and Hutchins "…agreed that [he] had achieved the remarkable feat of offending everybody except the most hardened advocates of pure cussedness."[126] The final manuscript was submitted to W.W. Norton in July and published in January 1958.[127]

After publication, the book received very good reviews in the major media. Ashmore wrote, "The leading book store here sold out within two weeks (the largest sale of any book in its history) and did so without the necessity of a combination autographic party, book-burning, and lynching bee."[128]

Ashmore may have joked about the local reaction, but *Epitaph for Dixie* was published at a time when many people were most critical of him—halfway through the fateful 1957-1958 school year.

CENTRAL HIGH

September 1957 marked the beginning of the Central High desegregation. The next two years were filled with challenges for Harry Ashmore and the entire team at the *Arkansas Gazette* as nine Negro students attempted to break the educational race barriers in Little Rock. Both Ashmore and the newspaper were criticized harshly by the segregationists for a series of front-page editorials calling for reason and law and order. The segregationists initiated circulation and advertising boycotts that the owners had to weather. Faubus used desegregation as his entire campaign platform for reelection and singled out Ashmore as the cause of all of Arkansas' race-related problems. Lawsuits and legislation were hurled from both sides of the desegregation issue, resulting in the closing of Little Rock high schools for the 1958 school year.

The owners and staff of the *Arkansas Gazette* weathered the storm, as did the entire town. When the dust cleared, the schools were open, and a second Reconstruction began for Arkansas.

Departure from the *Gazette*

Ashmore maintained a long-time friendship with Walt Kelly, creator of the *Pogo* comic strip. He drew on Kelly's expertise as a syndicated cartoonist when he was trying to develop a syndicated strip with John Sorensen, a local artist. In one letter he quipped to Kelly, "I'm not interested in the honor of the thing, but I am standing in the need of getaway money."[129]

The strip never materialized, but Ashmore's getaway plan did. In late September 1959, he resigned from the *Gazette* to join the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a think-tank headed by Robert Maynard Hutchins in Santa Barbara, California. *Newsweek* announced his departure in its Press section and quoted Ashmore as saying, "I've been here engaged in mortal combat with Faubus and the forces of idiocy for years. Now I find myself in the position of a vindicated prophet. The schools are open. But if I lived forever and grew a white beard, some of the people here would never trust me."[130] The schools were open, and the *Gazette* was recovering from its circulation and advertising losses. Ashmore felt free to move on to a new challenge.[131]

CONCLUSION

"He was struck by the absurdity of life."[132]

"He was about as coldly objective a person as I've ever known."[133]

"He had perfect pitch with the language; not even alcohol unbalanced it."[134]

"[E]ven his ideological opponents always found him pleasant company."[135]

Harry Ashmore liked all kinds of people—rich, poor, black, white, demagogue, and do-gooder. In every person he met, he found something that educated, enlightened, encouraged, or amused him.

Throughout his life, Ashmore studied the human race from an objective point of view. He acknowledged the need for the changes sweeping the country during this period but always had compassion for his fellow Southerners—both black and white—as they struggled to establish the infrastructure necessary to facilitate those changes.

When asked how he became so liberal-minded coming from a very traditional Southern background, he explained that the process had been gradual as he learned more about the world around him and saw the futility of clinging to the status quo. "What you ought to know is, I never had this experience on the road to Damascus, I never had this great burst of light," said Ashmore.[136]

Critics who suggest Ashmore did not take a strong enough stand for integration often fail to place the editorials in the context of the time in which they were written. Ashmore noted,

> What you have to recognize is that in 1940 there was no movement socially, politically, economically to desegregate the South—within the South or within the Nation. There was no pressure from Washington. The Roosevelt Administration accepted the fact that segregation was present and made no effort using all the New Deal programs to do anything other than work within the separate but equal framework.[137]

As a young editorial writer, Ashmore learned he could sway his readers toward more liberal ground as long as he could position the idea as the only reasonable alternative. His desegregation editorials depicted compliance with the Court as the only reasonable alternative—whether you agreed with the decision or not. "[I]t was awfully hard to defend against if they accused you of being a race mixer. You had to then say, 'Well, I'm not really for mixing the races, I'm just for justice,'" said Ashmore.[138]

Ashmore's pragmatic approach always acknowledged the complex emotional issues involved with the ego of Southern whites:

> We had lost a war and this [slavery] had been an issue of it, and this was not any remote past....[B]oth of my grandfathers were in the Confederate Army, and my grandmother who lived on into my time could remember Reconstruction. So this was not some issue that was unreal to people.[139]

Ashmore wanted to be optimistic about the future of the civil rights movement. He explored the history of and potential for race relations in most of his writings and speeches. The things that saddened him were tempered by his innate merriment, and he, himself, expressed the best description of the Ashmore psyche on the dedication page of *Civil Rights and Wrongs* when he penned, "To Cousin Harold Fleming, who understood that humor is the saving grace."[140]

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Author's note: This paper is excerpted from a larger work with the same title. The full version of Harry S. Ashmore: On the Way to Everywhere was written as a comprehensive project to fulfill part of the requirements for a Masters of Arts in journalism degree at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. That version is on file at the Ottenheimer Library archive at UALR.

Hist.

Suppression of Speech and the Press in the War for Four Freedoms

Censorship in Japanese American Assembly Camps During World War II

Takeya Mizuno

Bunkyo Universty, Japan

Mailing Address: 3-45-9, Kameido, Koto-ku

Tokyo, Japan 136-0071

Home Phone and Fax: 3684-5482

E-mail: mizuno@cc.musashi.ac.jp

Suppression of Speech and the Press in the War for Four Freedoms

Censorship in Japanese American Assembly Camps During World War II

150-Word Abstract

This article investigates how the United States government conducted censorship of speech and the press in Japanese American "assembly centers" during World War II. These camps were temporary staging areas that accommodated the evacuated Japanese Americans before they were transferred to the more permanent inland "relocation centers." Using the archival documents of concerned governmental agencies, this study demonstrates that assembly camp officials strictly prohibited the use of the Japanese language and thus deprived the Japanese-speaking evacuees their only means of self-expression. In addition, the camp authorities imposed prior censorship on English-language evacuee newspapers. Camp administrators mandated newspaper staffers to submit every news item to official censors for clearance and authorization before publication. Put under such a blatant and direct form of censorship, Japanese Americans in assembly camps underwent probably the most severe curtailment of First Amendment freedoms in wartime America, with an exception of those in Hawaii where martial law was declared.

Suppression of Speech and the Press in the War for Four Freedoms

Censorship in Japanese American Assembly Camps During World War II

I. Introduction

Protection of basic rights for all mankind, especially the ones enumerated in the Bill of Rights, was one of the most cherished national mottos of the United States during World War II. In his fireside chat on December 29, 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared that "[w]e must be the great arsenal of democracy." Next year on January 6, the President declared before Congress the famous "four essential human freedoms," putting the "freedom of speech and expression" first. On December 15, only a week after Pearl Harbor, the President reassured how much his administration weighed those fundamental constitutional rights, saying that "we Americans know that the determination of this generation of our people to preserve liberty is as fixed and certain as the determination of that early generation of Americans to win it." What is more, this idealism was to be applied impartially to all peoples, including aliens and citizens with "'foreign-sounding' names," as the President's January 2 statement reminded that "[w]e must not forget what we are defending: liberty, decency, justice."[1]

But at least one particular minority group was excluded from the President's promise: Japanese Americans. By the President's Executive Order 9066 issued on February 19, 1942, more than 110,000 Japanese Americans on the West Coast were forcibly removed from their homes and thrown together into inland camps. About two-thirds of these individuals, nearly 70,000, were citizens of the United States by birthright. They were "Nisei," literally the second generation born and raised in the United States, or "Kibei," the Japan-educated American-born second generation. Others were foreign born, first generation "Issei."[2]

The federal government's mass exclusion and encampment policy severely damaged the constitutional freedoms of Japanese Americans. But no systematic research has been conducted about how it affected their freedom of speech and the press. Some studies shed light on evacuee newspapers in the permanent "relocation centers" that were operated by the civilian federal agency War Relocation Authority (WRA). But almost totally lacking is the knowledge about evacuees' journalistic activities in the temporary "assembly centers." During the interim period between mass exclusion from the West Coast and subsequent permanent detention in the WRA camps, Japanese evacuees were put under quasi-military control in those short-term assembly camps. Even scholars who probed this earliest phase of mass encampment, such as Noriko Shimada, admit that so little is known about evacuees' experiences there.[3]

This article attempts to fill this research gap by investigating in detail how the assembly camp authorities conducted press and speech censorship. This study will at first examine the official camp regulations and then probe censorship of the Tanforan Totalizer, a newspaper published at the Tanforan Assembly Center, California. This study will investigate the cases of other newspapers, too. The time frame ranges from March to October 1942 when those camps were operated. The present article extensively uses primary sources, mainly the archival documents of the concerned federal and military agencies. Back issues of newspapers, diaries, personal letters, memoirs, research papers, and notes of evacuees are also utilized. Making full use of these primary sources many of which are newly opened for this inquiry, this research will demonstrate that except for the Japanese-language newspapers in Hawaii where martial law was declared, Japanese Americans in assembly camps experienced probably the most severe curtailment of First Amendment rights in the wartime United States.[4]

II. General Background of Assembly Camps and Previous Literature on Evacuee Newspapers

There were 16 "assembly centers," and these staging areas were operated by the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA), a civilian branch of the Western Defense Command and the Fourth Army (WDC). Although many civilian officers took part in actual assembly camp operations, the WCCA was headed by a military director, Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen, whom General John DeWitt of the WDC delegated power to decide and enforce general policies and regulations at camps. Thus, assembly camps were put under quasi-military control. The Army established 13 of such temporary camps in California (Fresno, Manzanar, Marysville, Merced, Pinedale, Pomona, Sacramento, Salinas, Santa Anita, Stockton, Tanforan, Tulare, and Turlock), and one in Arizona, (Mayer), Oregon (Portland), and Washington (Puyallup), respectively. The average length of stay was about 100 days. But this transitory phase was considerably important for Japanese Americans as the first step of mass incarceration, which would continue until the end of the war.[5]

In assembly camps, 15 evacuee newspapers appeared. But the previous literature on them is extremely limited. In 1968, Jacobus tenBroek and others discussed that "[the] WCCA gave evacuees permission to establish center newspapers [and they were] carefully censored." But they do not explain in detail how they were censored. This subject is sidestepped in the 1982 final report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC). It states only: "There were fifteen of these, written in English under the 'guidance' of WCCA public relations representatives, who confined news items to those of 'actual interest' to the evacuees." Most recently, Noriko Shimada in 1995 wrote that one newspaper, the Tanforan Totalizer at the Tanforan Assembly Center, California, was subjected to "severe censorship." But she does not provide the full picture of press censorship, either. In essence, no substantial progress has been achieved in this significant research area since the Department of War in 1943 reported: "Authority to publish, with instructions providing for editing and distribution, was contained in a directive issued by the Director, Wartime Civil Control Administration. ... Facilities for publication were made available by the [Assembly] Center Managers. ... [N]ews items were confined to those of actual interest to the evacuees. Final control rested with the Center Manager."[6]

III. Assembly Camp Regulations Against Free Speech and the Press: The Ban of the Japanese Language

The WDC exercised close control over Japanese Americans in assembly camps by issuing various orders and regulations, which directly encroached on evacuees' First Amendment freedoms. Probably the most formidable and far-reaching was the ban of the use of the Japanese language. By this restriction, many of the Japan-born Issei suddenly lost their only means of self-expression.

First of all, the WDC prohibited all readings and writings in the Japanese language within assembly camps. As early as April 12, Karl R. Bendetsen, the highest official of the WCCA, wrote to the Assistant Director of the WRA: "The policy of the Commanding General, Western

Defense Command and Fourth Army, is to prohibit publication of Japanese language newspapers and periodicals. Unless the situation indicates the advisability of a change in policy, the stated policy will obtain in assembly and reception centers."[7]

In mid-June, the WDC codified the above principle as official "Center Regulations." One provision expressly ruled: "No news publications of any kind will be prepared or issued in the Japanese language in any Assembly Center ...." This ban extended to almost all kinds of printed matters, including even administrative announcements. "Necessary fire, sanitation and police regulations may be printed in the Japanese language upon approval by this Headquarters. Proposed instructions will be submitted to [the WCCA] and necessary approval secured prior to posting in any assembly center." As a matter of course, the WDC barred publication of a Japanese-language newspaper or magazine. Another provision dictated that "Japanese print of any kind, such as newspapers, books, pamphlets, periodicals, or other literature ... are not authorized in the Center at any time ...." The only exceptions were "approved religious books (Bibles and hymnals) and English-Japanese dictionaries." If possession of these prohibited items was found, they would be "declared contraband and will be seized by Assembly Center authorities." The WDC drafted these regulations between late May and early June 1942. After some revisions and additions, the WDC distributed the final version on July 18. These rules remained effective until the closure of all assembly camps in November.[8]

The camp authorities' prohibition of the Japanese language was literally absolute, going so far as to forbid a partial appearance of Japanese words in camp newspapers. Receiving the information that evacuee newspapers at Fresno and Sancrament camps carried a page that included Japanese characters, Karl Bendetsen dispatched a memo to all Camp Managers and directed them to exercise stricter press censorship. In the memo dated May 27, Bendetsen wrote: "The fact that this could happen is striking evidence of the fact that apparently all of the papers are not sufficiently proof-read or that the center manager's staff did not have in mind the Commanding General's directive in the manner. ... The need for close and stricter supervision of center newspapers seems evident." On this issue, another high-ranking policy maker of the WCCA also ordered his staff to "take immediate action to direct all assembly center managers that no news publication of any kind in any assembly center will be made in Japanese. ... [T]he Japanese language can only be used where absolutely necessary in connection with publication of camp regulations, such as fire, police and sanitation provisions posted in appropriate places ...." Such a total elimination of the Japanese language, in the words of the same officer, was to "solve the problem of the Japanese attempting to convey a message to their own people and to people on the outside, either by text or by cartoons which may be detrimental to their own interests, the administration of the assembly center, to the interests of the War Department."[9]

The assembly camp authorities did not approve the subscription of outside Japanese-language newspapers, either. The federal government's mass exclusion policy forced all West Coast Japanese-language newspapers to close down by the end of May. But a few in Utah and Colorado could continue business because the exclusion orders did not reach intermountain states. Thus, for the duration of the war, these publications had been the only remaining news media written in Japanese. But the WDC barred evacuees from reading them. The method taken was to impose postal censorship on all publications and letters written in Japanese. The WDC ordered: "Japanese print of any kind directed to evacuees and transmitted by U.S. mail will be turned over by Center postal authorities to the internal police at each Assembly Center for delivery to the evacuees." In pursuance, for instance, the administration of the Tulare Assembly Center, California, confiscated a copy of the Colorado Times (Kakushu Jiji) from the incoming mail to an evacuee. One WCCA official considered the entering of outside language newspaper so problematic that he even suggested to Bendetsen that "the situation be investigated and that a list of authorized Japanese newspapers be prepared and furnished to the center managers and that all other Japanese newspapers be declared contraband."[10]

As mentioned earlier, Bibles and hymnals were only exceptions, but other religious publications were not exemplified from confiscation. For example, announcements for gathering, schedules of special events, and other notices, leaflets, or posters regarding religious services must be inspected by camp officials before public exposure. One WDC regulation read: "Any material intended for release in religious publications other than routine matters will be cleared by the Press Relations representative of the Center involved. The above routine matters include notices of church services, prayer meetings, and activities of such nature." In hid May 14 diary, Charles Kikuchi, an evacuee in Tanforan, made an irony on this regulation: "Notice was issued today that no notice could be placed on any bulletin board without an official 'o.k.' Reason??"[11]

The WDC thus eliminated almost all kinds of Japanese-language literature from assembly camps. This severely damaged the ability of self-expression of the first generation Issei because the great majority of them adhered to their native tongue. Unable to read, write, and publish in their own language, the Issei evacuees had even less First Amendment freedoms than their sons and daughters. But this was not to say that the American-born, English-speaking second generation received full protection of free speech and the press. The camp administration's censorship of their newspapers was equally severe.

IV. Censorship of Assembly Camp Newspapers

Although the assembly camp authorities almost entirely prohibited Japanese-language publications within camps, they took a slightly less strict policy to the use of the English language. For example, the WDC allowed evacuees to publish their own newspapers in English. In all 16 assembly camps, 15 mimeograph titles appeared. The first newspaper was the Manzanar Free Press, which began on April 11 at the Owens Valley Reception Center, California. This camp would later become a permanent Manzanar Relocation Center.[12]

But this was not to say that the camp authorities respected evacuees' First Amendment freedom of speech and the press. Although the WDC's official regulations did not prescribe the authority to exercise press censorship, camp administrators imposed various types of press restraint on newspapers. Prior restraint was routine. An internal WCCA memorandum dated May 30 describes the general procedures of censorship: "A check by assembly center manager, or his representative, is to be made of approved copy with the stencil prior to mimeograph. Final check by the assembly center manager or his representative, is to be made of the approved copy and the issue prior to its distribution." Based on this basic method, each local camp conducted press controls in a variety of ways. As a result, Japanese Americans' First Amendment freedom of speech and the press became virtually none within assembly camps.[13]

Censorship of the Tanforan Totalizer

Of all assembly camp newspapers, one of the most documented is the Tanforan Totalizer, published at the Tanforan Assembly Center, California. Tanforan was one of the field sites of the

Japanese [American] Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS), an extensive documentary project on the Japanese American mass encampment policy. The JERS project was proposed by scholars of the University of California, Berkeley, and was directed by a sociology professor, Dorothy Swaine Thomas. She employed several evacuees as field researchers to gather raw data concerning various aspects of camp life. Because Tanforan was one of the major focuses of the JERS project, archival documents on the camp and its newspaper Totalizer are much richer than most others. The JERS records are housed at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.[14]

The Tanforan Totalizer was a weekly mimeograph sheet, and its basic characteristics were as follows. The newspaper made its debut on May 15 and continued until September 12, publishing 19 editions altogether. It was written in English only. The Tanforan camp itself opened on April 28 and closed on October 13. When its population was highest, some 7,800 evacuees lived there. The newspaper's main function was to keep this community informed of administrative announcements, orders, miscellaneous camp events, and other necessary information and news. It also published editorials, human interest news, and sports stories. The Totalizer usually came out with four to 10 pages of mimeographed legal size paper. According to one of the original editors, Charles Kikuchi, the Totalizer had a circulation of some 2,800 copies. Kikuchi was also a JERS field researcher. As of the paper's content, Dorothy Swaine Thomas characterized that the newspaper was "liberal and outspoken" and tended to "play down the Japanesy part -- bad for the morale of the Nisei." Thomas also wrote that the Totalizer stressed "Americanism, faith in the future, prodemocracy, anti-fascism" in its editorials.[15]

The idea to start a camp newspaper was at first proposed by evacuees who felt concerned about the morale and order in the camp. In his diary of May 3, Charles Kikuchi wrote: "We are planning to get the paper underway as soon as possible. It is needed now as a 'morale raise' and also for the information service that it could render. With 4000 more people coming in next week, the confusion may grow greater." This was only five days after the camp opened. These evacuees were particularly concerned about false information and rumors widely circulating within the camp. Kikuchi later recalled that "the administration could have saved themselves from many problems if they had provided the setup as soon as we came in so that everyone could have the information instead of all these wild rumors that sweep the camp."[16]

A closer examination of the chaotic camp conditions in the early phase makes it more understandable why a camp-wide news medium was felt urgently necessary. A former Tanforan evacuee, Yoshiko Uchida, wrote that during the first few weeks "everything was erratic in short supply. ... [T]here was little inclination for anyone to feel responsible for anyone else." A newspaper was a logical solution for such a problem. Related with it, another important factor was the rapidly increasing camp population, which would reach more than 7,800 at its height. In order to control this sheer size of community efficiently, a mass circulating publication was indispensable. The JERS director Thomas explained that camp officials thought "much of the confusion engendered in the process of getting a rapidly growing community organized could be obviated if information could be given through the press regularly and accurately." As a matter of fact, the WDC's 1943 final report acknowledged camp newspapers' worthiness in this regard, writing: "The management found them useful in making instructions known."[17]

Because of its potential usefulness, the beginning of the Totalizer involved no administrative obstruction. The evacuees' plan was authorized and materialized speedily. On May 4, some 20 evacuees including Kikuchi assembled to discuss the issue and reaffirmed that "we really do need some source of information," and next day on May 5 they requested a permission from the administration and obtained it. They immediately began preparations, and on May 15 the Totalizer came into being. The first issue's editorial briefly explained the above process as follows: "The present temporary staff has taken the initiative in starting the paper in the belief that the common good would be served thereby." Kikuchi became the newspaper's editor, concurrently working for the JERS project. At the very beginning, evacuees and camp operators concurred with each other that their hastily-founded and expanding camp needed a newspaper.[18]

But this was not to say that Tanforan's administrative staff respected evacuees' First Amendment freedoms. No sooner had the newspaper begun than evacuee staffers encountered official censorship. From the inaugural issue, the administration required every article to be clarified by information officers before publication. Kikuchi's May 14 journal, a day before the first issue was launched, read: "Everything has to be read and 'ok-ed' by the front office. [One evacuee staffer] says that the administration is very sensitive about radicalism or unfavorable publicity ...." The newspaper was monitored not only by the local camp administration but also by higher authorities. A WCCA Public Relations officer reassured in his May 26 memo that the WCCA headquarters mandated all assembly camp newspapers to send several copies to the agency's Public Relations Division. "They were [also] advised to make no public distribution. I gave this directive verbally to the secretary of the Manager of Tanforan Assembly Center prior to the launching of their newspaper."[19]

In addition, the process of censorship became multi-layered after a while, and this further deterred the newspaper staff from doing their job efficiently. It was after the suspension incident on July 4 that the camp administration mandated the staffers to attain prior approvals from several different officers. Kikuchi described how the incident occurred as follows:

> [The Center Manager Frank E.] Davis ordered that all copies of the *Totalizer* had to be collected at once. [A staffer] was called up by Davis and given hell, but he wouldn't tell him what was wrong with the paper. ... We had distributed the paper without getting the double check. The staff was lined up and told to see the house managers and get all the papers back in an hour. ... [The staff] rushed around excitedly getting the copies back. The whole camp got in an uproar and they hastily read the paper to find out what was wrong. The house managers did not know what it was so they collected them very seriously. It will probably be the only time that the *Titalizer* got such a careful reading ....

Shortly, the staff found out why this happened. The issue was printed without correcting the places that the Center Manager marked. In fact, however, it was not the staff's fault because the manager did not sign his initials on the copy. But his recall order was absolute and had to be executed immediately. "In order to stop rumors we decided to get the copy out as soon as possible and so spent most of the afternoon unstapling 2400 copies. About 300 copies were not turned in," wrote Kikuchi. The whole newsroom was upset, but editors could not help but acquiesce with the administration. "We haven't much to make an issue out of it and this was not the time to quit." After this trouble, the newspaper had to be "triple checked."[20]

This multiple prior checking system increased the already heavy burden of the Totalizer. Criticizing this practice "so silly," Kikuchi described in detail how bureaucracy of censorship obstructed the making of his newspaper:

> Here is how our copy goes now: I get data ... and write it up. Then it goes to [an official Army censor] for his ok. Then the dummy is set and it gets an ok. Then the stencil is cut and sent up to [the Center Manager] for his ok. Then [it is] sent to supply room and it sits on the desk until [the supply room manager] gives it the final approval and checks to see if it has [the Center Manager's] signature on it.

No wonder frustration mounted in the newsroom. "Under this setup it's a wonder that we ever get finished. As if we were a bunch of little kids that need constant watching," complained Kikuchi. He also wrote that "the present method of censorship is an added handicap and a better arrangement would have to be made."[21]

What is more, the lack of clarity and consistency on the part of censors made the staffers' job even more cumbersome. Because the administration lacked an explicit policy for censorship, evacuee editors often had to question themselves what kind of information the Center Manager would, or would not, approve for publication. For example, the Totalizer editors remained undecided to the last moment whether or not they should write an editorial on the Memorial Day. "[T]hat's the trouble with the paper -- we should have a policy and fight for it," wrote Kikuchi. They eventually decided to publish a Memorial Day editorial, and it got through censors.[22]

The absence of concrete censorship criteria continued to annoy and confuse the newsroom. On another occasion, one information officer ordered to drop a drug store story because it "was not in good taste." This reason could never persuade the editors. On this, Kikuchi commented: "[The newspaper is] probably about the most censored thing in camp. ... [After dropping the story, the censor] makes the classic statement that there is absolutely no censorship around here!" The JERS director Dorothy Thomas summarized this problem in her study on the Totalizer: "Since no definite policy as to what was 'allowable' was established, the editorial staff was in a constant state of indecision, and last minute changes in the copy were frequent. ... The troubles of the editorial staff ... were partly due to their inability to get a clear statement of administrative policy ...." Censorship, which was further complicated by its time-consuming process, inconsistent enforcement, and unpredictability, made the newspaper making highly inefficient.[23]

eing not able to report accurate, truthful accounts of actual feelings and lives of their readers, the Totalizer's staffers felt a hard dilemma between the unchangeable reality and the journalistic norms of social accountability and public service. On May 31, Kikuchi deplored: "I had hoped to be doing more. Working on a heavily censored camp paper is a long way from social work." On August 12, he once again lamented that "we could not print what was really going on and that it presented a false picture of things by only mimeographing the bright side of things. We felt that we could have done a lot more if we were allowed to have more freedom in constructive criticism." This plight was so ironical for the newspaper whose inaugural editorial declared that "the paper may be truly representative of the whole community [and] will be open to every sort of suggestion from its readers for improving it from issue to issue."[24]

Although the staff members were not entirely silent to the authorities' repressive press controls, their modest grievance and complaints had no power to soften censors' attitudes. When evacuee representatives met the Center Manager Frank E. Davis on July 7, they protested against the current practice of censorship and asked him to make clear what kind of subjects and news the Totalizer might print. Instead of answering to the question, however, Davis insisted that only he had the authority to decide what should appear on the paper. He said:

> Any statistic must be approved. Any information concerning regulation should be printed under a signed statement. Any information you want to issue you should write it out and have it signed by me ... [An officer] from a press relation has to look it over, but the fact that he approves it completely doesn't mean it's all right. I'll ... let them know what to do.

In essence, the Camp Manager had the ultimate power to decide what was news within the camp, and he had no intention to restrain himself from wielding that power.[25]

Although the Totalizer's editors felt that the Tanforan project's imposition of censorship was a blatant injustice, they were virtually powerless to recover their denied press freedom and came to accept their vulnerability as a given reality. An illuminating episode is that a censor cut out an interview story because he deemed a quoted comment about outside employment inappropriate. The quote read: "It's better for us to work hard than to stay here and be idle." According to Kikuchi, the censor "didn't like the idea that people were idle here and so cut that out." The editors resented but had no guts to contest the deletion: "We just couldn't say anything. I was so damned mad. We are nothing but a kept press."[26]

Evacuee journalists felt so powerless that they often lapsed into a sort of defeatism. Kikuchi's May 29 journal noted: "With all the censorship now, it doesn't make any difference who is editor as long as the community is served." On another occasion, he explained that the editors had no choice but to surrender because they assumed that resistance "will only make our work more difficult as they will check us more closely ...." This statement was made when a censor insisted on putting the word "seeming" in front of "injustices" in the editorial for the Independence Day. As a result, the printed editorial read: "In our observance of July Fourth, then, let us not speculate idly and fruitlessly on the special constraints and hardships -- and, in many cases, the seeming injustices -- which the fortunes of the present war have laid on us."[27]

Even more ironically, the newspaper staff not only thought it futile to resist censorship but also exercised self-censorship. Kikuchi once confessed that "we paint a bright picture of things inadvertently." His diary on July 31 also reveals that the editors avoided controversial issues to preempt the administration's interventions. "We have sort of developed a policy of subtle Americanization and avoid loud protestations of loyalty, of waving the flag. We minimize things Japanese. I notice that the other center papers play up such things as *Bon Odori* and *Sumo* [Japanese dancing festival and wrestling]. We did not even mention the repatriation business." The entire newsroom was afraid of reporting anything that could stir up arguments because "there is always the uncertainty of censorship on a controversial subject." Concerning the decision not to assign conspicuous coverage to a Japanese folk dance event, Kikuchi's justification was that "[a]lthough I had nothing against the better part of the Japanese culture, I did not consider this an opportune time to stress Japanese culture."[28]

It is not surprising even if evacuee staff's voluntary restraint, combined with administrative censorship, made the newspaper content banal and sedate. In an internal memorandum dated May 25, Edwin Bates, the WRA Information Division Chief, commented that "the assembly center papers are, in my estimation, doing a good morale building job by simply carrying the story of activities -- sports, dances, vital statistics -- princially [sic] births, and other things." Considering the inevitable fact that hastily-constructed assembly camps were full of problems, the striking gap between the problematic plight of evacuees and the non-controversial camp press coverage strongly indicates that a serious chilling effect was occurring. Fearing censors, evacuee journalists might have well declined themselves to assume the essential roles of a responsible press, such as to reflect the accurate picture of the serving community or to report a multitude of opinions and views on important community affairs.[29]

To sum up all discussed thus far, it would be safe to say that Japanese American evacuees in Tanforan had no freedom of the press. Dorothy Thomas cited an editor of the Totalizer as stating: "Many in the Totalizer office were inclined to believe that the censorship of the articles in the paper were [sic] an inroad into the right of the free press, and that the deleting of items was initiated to protect the administration alone." Thomas herself reviewed some examples of coercive deletions and modifications of news stories, and concluded: "From the first to the last issue, the Tanforan Totalizer was subjected to strict censorship by the Administration and by a representative of the Army."[30]

Tamotsu Shibutani and other JERS participants, too, reached the conclusion that the camp administration's dictatorial censorship policy cut evacuees' First Amendment press freedom to naught. They maintained: "Perhaps the Totalizer is censored more carefully than anything else in camp, partly because only official news can be disseminated and partly for other reasons." Their study also reveals that the administration's press control policy became even more repressive after one evacuee informed that the newspaper was dominated by "a clique of communists." The Center Manager, "being totally ignorant of the internal intrigues within the Japanese community, took his report seriously, and for over a week the newspaper was held up by this squabble." The administration went so far as to eliminate some *persona non grata* staffers and employ "more incompetent" ones. As a result, the newspaper was "completely censored. ... Even the mimeographing itself was kept out of the hands of the staff." Shibutani and others criticized that such an authoritarian practice of "censorship" made the newspaper meaningless: "Actually, the Totalizer is nothing more than a weekly bulletin reporting on what is going on in the camp -- about a week late. It is indeed a sad commentary to the caliber of the residents and the administrative staff in Tanforan that a free press does not exist in the Center."[31]

Censorship of the Santa Anita Pacemaker and Other Assembly Camp Newspapers

The Santa Anita Pacemaker is a mimeograph newspaper published at the Santa Anita Assembly Center, California. The Santa Anita camp operated from March 27 to October 27. At its peak, the camp accomodated more than 18,000 evacuees. It was the largest of all assembly camps. The Pacemaker made its first appearance on April 18. Its mission statement declared an ideal of a democratic press: "This is a newspaper that fulfills the basic principle of a publication in a democracy -- it is a paper that is of the people." The Pacemaker came out with about four or six pages and ceased publication with the issue of October 7. The paper was distributed twice a week free of charge. It began with a circulation of 1,800, and the number reached nearly 6,000 when the camp population hit the peak. The Pacemaker was written in English only.[32]

Despite its liberal mission statement, the Pacemaker was no exception in that it was subjected to the camp administration's tight editorial controls. The chief editor, Eddie Shimano, admitted that the newspaper was serving as the camp administration's mouthpiece. To the request of Bradford Smith, the Foreign Language Division officer of the Office of Facts and

Figures (OFF), to send his office the copies of the Pacemaker. Shimano replied: "Since we are all under Army control here at the present time ..., the paper acts mostly as an official information bulletin, dressed up in newsy, attractive, readable style, of administrative orders."[33]

Censorship over the Pacemaker is mentioned by outside critics, too. For example, a prominent civil libertarian of the era, Carey McWilliams, reported in September 1942 that "camp residents [at Santa Anita], in their meetings and in their newspaper The *Pacemaker*, do not feel free to express *all* that is on their minds. [emphasis in original]" Anthony L. Lehman's 1970 book also discusses the practice of censorship. Lehman at first shed light on the positive side of the camp newspaper, writing that the Pacemaker "was the major means of disseminating information to all residents as well as an effective antidote to the pernicious and ever-present rumors. It also helped to create a sense of community among the diverse population." But the author then looked at the darker side: "There was, of course, acknowledged administrative censorship ...."[34]

Details of the camp administration's "rigid censorship" can be obtained from an anonymous publication "The Evacuee Speaks: Newsletter." This English-language typewritten sheet was published with an aim to record otherwise unnoticed problems within the camp. It was distributed to evacuees as well as outside individuals and organizations. The September 15 issue described the censorship of the Pacemaker, saying that the newspaper was "guided by the considerations of not one but four different groups: the administrators, the army, the general public outside, and finally, the center residents. Because of the rigid censorship of all news items, the emphasis must be placed upon, 'will the administrators accept this news story?,' rather than upon the more important and immediate task of maintaining the morale of center residents." This problem is so identical with that of the Tanforan Totalizer.[35]

The above newsletter disclosed another similarity with the case of the Totalizer, the time-consuming procedures of previous censorship. The newsletter contested:

> Every piece of departmental news must be approved by the respective heads before the final 'OK' by the center management. As a consequence, each item before insertion into the 'Pacemaker' must be taken to the administrative offices for an approval, the original copy being left with the administrator. This running back and forth constantly between the newspaper office and the administration building wastes much time ....

This multi-fold prior censorship system resembles the one conducted at the Tanforan camp.[36]

What is more, the newsletter criticized the lack of definite and integrated censorship policies on the part of censors. The newsletter gave an example that a censor forced the editors to drop a story headlined "Chicken Dinners Next Sunday" for an insignificant reason. The censor insisted on his order, saying that "some people on the outside who do not so much as get steaks would object." Even worse, this order came when 5,500 copies had already been mimeographed. The press stopped immediately, and copies already produced were wasted. This episode, too, is very identical with the sudden last-minute recall order directed to the Totalizer.[37]

At least once, a petition was circulated among evacuees and signatures were collected to endorse a plan to add a Japanese-language section to the Pacemaker or start another newspaper in the Japanese language. This action was initiated by Shuji Fujii, the former editor and publisher of the Los Angeles liberal opinion newspaper Doho. His aim was to provide more timely and accurate information with the uninformed older Issei evacuees, because most of them did not understand English. In his May 20 letter to Karl R. Bendetsen, Fujii claimed that "[h]ere is a situation where a majority of the adult treading population who read Japanese lacks a newspaper in their own language. Information bulletins may keep them posted on various regulations, [but] it is far from sufficient to give them a complete understanding." Fujii also justified his petition by referring to its merit to the enhancement of morale. "The present idleness, due to shortage of work assignments, is by no means a healthy state of life, and eventually demoralization and degeneration may set it."[38]

Although Fujii's objective seems reasonable and practical, his action backfired him. Due to the petition movement, Fujii was arrested for violating camp regulations against the public use of the Japanese language. With five others who held a Japanese-language meeting, Fujii was held in the Los Angeles County Jail. Of course, his petition was buried by the camp administration.[39]

Finally, the same type of newspaper censorship was exercised in other assembly camps, too. For example, officials at the Pomona Assembly Center, California, checked news items for the Pomona Center News prior to publication. This previous censorship began when the newspaper carried a story alleging the government staff's stealing of food. The story described how the military trucks brought meat to the camp, unloaded only part of it, and brought the rest to the outside. The Pomona camp authorities thought that the News must be checked more strictly so that such an anti-government news would no longer appear. "Thereafter, an official of the Army ordered that the sheet be always submitted to them for censorship before publication," wrote Estelle Ishigo. Pre-publication checking was also practiced at the Tulare Assembly Center, California. Regarding the investigation of the Tulare News' cartoonist and editor who were suspected to have written pro-Japan articles, the chief security officer of the WCCA stated in his June 5 memo that "the copy for this paper was submitted to the Camp Manager ... before it was printed. This policy was followed from the very beginning and still is."40

Complaints against censorship were heard from the Puyallup Assembly Center, Washington, too. In an interview for the JERS project, one of the founding staff of the Camp Harmony News-Letter at Puyallup remarked: "The newspaper was not too happy a job because there was a great deal of censorship." Another Puyallup resident voiced a more fierce criticism against censorship. "I thought that the WCCA men in camp were the dumbest saps I ever ran across. ... They [sic] guy at the head of the art department and the newspaper was the most hated man in camp because he was so dumb that he censored everything and he was always suspecting the Japanese of being up to some subversive activities." As in the cases of the Totalizer and Pacemaker, administrative censorship made the Puyallup newspaper restrain itself from reporting activities and events that could be linked with Japan and Japanese. For example, Lester E. Suzuki, a Nisei Methodist minister, wrote that the Camp Harmony News-Letter "was incomplete, and very little was written about the Buddhist services."41

Interestingly, the Fresno Grapevine, a newspaper at the Fresno Assembly Center, California, openly discussed its censorship in its own page. The story appeared in the July 4 issue. Although it is written in a humorous tone, the story described in detail the process of how a news item would get through censors' eyes before printed. "Flash! I'm news." The story was written as if a third person named "News" were speaking. At first, a news story is written by a reporter, and editors will check errors and put a headline to it. Then, as the "News" told, "I am sent out to the Service Division Head, Walter E. Pollock, and a government press representative for a review. Hope I make the grade. They look us over, give the death sentence to one or two of my fellow news, and send the rest of us back to our sanctum, the GRAPEVINE office." After the administrative checking, the news story must endure the final inspection by the editor, and then it will be set to the mimeograph machine and distributed to evacuee readers. In this story, however, there is no critical comment or satirical innuendo against censorship.[42]

V. Conclusion

The governmental repression of First Amendment rights at Japanese American assembly camps was unprecedented in its degree and nature. Camp regulations entirely prohibited Japanese-language publications. Forced to forsake their own language, the majority of the Japanese-speaking Issei evacuees were thus deprived of their only means to speak, discuss, read, and publish as they wished. Those who spoke English were allowed to publish and read English-language newspapers; however, each news article had to be checked, cleared, and approved by censors before publication. On some occasions, camp officials even suspended publication or distribution of newspapers on unreasonable grounds. In essence, the assembly camp authorities of the WDC-WCCA thrust the evacuees' constitutional guarantees of free speech and the press into void. Despite the grave significance of this unprecedented abrogation of civil rights and liberties, little effort has been made to relate the issue of free expression with the federal government's mass encampment policy. Evacuees' loss of First Amendment rights at assembly camps is requisite for the complete understanding of wartime mass incarceration of Japanese Americans.

Besides its contribution to the literature on the mass encampment policy and Japanese Americans, a couple of additional points must be noted regarding this study's necessity and importance. At first, it raises a serious question to the Roosevelt Administration's democratic war aim and press management policy. As stated in the introduction, greater protection of the Bill of Rights, especially of minorities, was one of the most publicized mottos of the Roosevelt Administration. "Freedom of speech and expression" was the first in the President's famous wartime slogan of "four essential human freedoms." In fact, his administration applied this liberal philosophy to most domestic news media, including the African-American media, radical anti-war media, and even foreign-language publications issued by the peoples of the German or Italian ancestry.[43]

But strict press and speech abridgement exercised within Japanese assembly camps provides evidence that there was at least one grave flaw in the Roosevelt Administration's overall liberal press policy. Except for the case of Hawaii where martial law was declared, curtailment of First Amendment freedoms in assembly camps was probably more systematic and severe than any other case in the United States during World War II. While the most blatant form of censorship had been undertaken, anyone in the Roosevelt Administration, including civil libertarian officials of the Justice Department, did not scrutinize, question, or even notice the assembly camp authorities' gross violation of the free press and speech. And until today, newspaper censorship and other forms of suppression of free expression have remained almost utterly unknown.[44]

Secondly, the present study can add significant insights to the history of press freedom, or conversely speaking, press controls, in the United States. Even before the First Amendment was added to the Constitution, the absence of previous restraint on the press had long been, and still is, understood as a primary and foremost precondition of a democratic self-governing nation. This traditional English Common Law view, expressed by William Blackstone as early as the mid-sixteenth century, gave the fundamental basis to the development of the concept of press freedom in the United States. This is what the Commission on Freedom of the Press called the passive "freedom from," or an immunity from external compulsions.[45]

However, even this minimum requirement for a democratic free press could not be realized within Japanese American assembly camps. Their newspapers underwent direct governmental prior censorship in the absence of martial law, clear and imminent danger, or compelling governmental interest. Such a blatant imposition of censorship may be situated in the history of the United States as one of the occasions when the freedom of speech and the press sank deepest. The camp authorities' systematic undertaking of press censorship, which has been left unexamined until today, is an important supplement to the scholarship of the history of the press freedom and controls in the United States.

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[1]. Samuel I. Rosenman, comp., The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt 1940 Volume: War and Aid to Democracies, (London: MacMillan, 1941), 643, 672; Ibid., 1941 Volume: The Call to Battle Stations, 556; Ibid., 1942 Volume: Humanity on the Defensive, 6.

[2]. For an overview of Japanese Americans' history, see the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (Washington, D.C.: The Government Printing Office, 1982), 27-46.

[3]. Noriko Shimada, Nikkei Americajin no Taiheiyo Senso (Tokyo: Liber Press, 1995), 37.

For major published works on the newspapers published within the WRA's permanent camps, see, for example, John Stevens, "From Behind Barbed Wire: Freedom of the Press in World War II Japanese Centers," Journalism Quarterly Vol.48, No.2 (Summer 1971): 279-287; Jay Friedlander, "Journalism Behind Barbed Wire, 1942-44: An Arkansas Relocation Center Newspaper," Journalism Quarterly Vol.62, No.2 (Summer 1985): 243-246, 271; E. J. Friedlander, "Freedom of Press Behind Barbed Wire: Paul Yokota and the Jerome Relocation Center Newspaper," Arkansas Historical Quarterly Vol.44, No.4 (Winter 1985): 303-313; Lauren Kessler, "Fettered Freedoms: The Journalism of World War II: Japanese Internment Camps," Journalism History Vol.15, No.2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1988): 70-79; James Omura, "Japanese American Journalism During World War II," in Gail M. Nomura, Russell Endo, Stephen H. Sumida, and Russell C. Leong, eds., Frontiers of Asian American Studies: Writing, Research, and Commentary (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1989), 71-77; Bill Hosokawa, "The Sentinel Story," in Mike Mackey, ed., Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American Internment in Wyoming (Powell, WY: Western History Publications, 1998), 63-73.

[4]. For the Japanese-language press in Hawaii, see, for example, Jim A. Richstad, "The Press under Martial Law: The Hawaiian Experience," Journalism Monographs No.17 (November 1970); Tom Brislin, "Weep Into Silence/Cries of Rage: Bitter Divisions in Hawaii's Japanese Press," Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs No.154 (December 1995).

[5]. For an overview of assembly camps, see Raymond Okamura and Isami Arifuku Waugh, "The Temporary Detention Camps in California: Registered State Historical Landmarks," 1980, a paper submitted to the CWRIC, Papers of the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Part 1: Numerical File Archive, Reel: 25, Box: 27 (hereafter, this manuscript collection is cited

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as "Papers of the CWRIC"; CWRIC, Personal Justice Denied, 135-148; Harlan D. Unrau, The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center Vol.1, (Washington D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, 1996), 47-51, 69-89.

[6]. Jacobus tenBroek, et al. Prejudice, War and the Constitution 3rd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1968), 127; CWRIC, Personal Justice Denied, 146; Shimada, Nikkei Americajin no Taiheiyo Senso, 37; United States Department of War, Final Report: Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, 1942 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 213.

[7]. Karl R. Bendetsen, Colonel, General Staff Corps, Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs Division, WDC, to Assistant Director, WRA, "Use of Japanese Languages by Evacuees in Assembly and Reception Centers," April 12, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, M.D. Hereafter, the National Archives and Record Administration is cited as "NARA."

[8]. Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, Wartime Civil Control Administration, "Center Regulations," July 18, 1942, pp.8, 9, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 12, File: B1.09, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Hereafter, the library is cited as "Bancroft, UCB." This document is also available at Papers of the CWRIC, Reel: 25, Box: 26.

[9]. Karl R. Bendetsen, Colonel, G.S.C., Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs Division, WDC, to Temporary Settlement Operations Division, Property, Security and Regulations Division, "Center Newspapers," May 27, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.; Ira K. Evans, Lt. Col., C.S.C., Assistant, Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs Division, WDC, to Mr. Diehl, Operation Branch, "Japanese Publications in Assembly Centers," May 25, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.; Ira K. Evans, Lt. Col., C.S.C., Assistant, Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs Division, WDC, to Operation Branch, T.S.O. Division, "Assembly Center News Publications," May 30, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.

[10]. WDC, "Center Regulations," 9; J. A. Strickland, Assistant Chief, Interior Security Branch, WCCA, to Major J. T. Fairchild, Assistant G-2, WDC, "Japanese Newspaper Confiscated from Incoming Mail at the Tulare Assembly Center," June 24, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.; Ira K. Evans, Lt. Col., C.S.C., Assistant, Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs

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Division, WDC, to Col. Bendetsen, "Use of Published Japanese Language in Assembly Centers," May 25, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D. About the blockade of inter-mountain Japanese-language newspapers, see also Puyallup Assembly Center, "Headquarters Staff Meeting," July 20, 1942, National Japanese American Historical Society (NJAHS), Evacuation Internment Collection, Box 1, File: Albert Ichihara #4.

[11]. WDC, "Center Regulations," 2-3; Charles Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp: The Tanforan Journals of Charles Kikuchi ed. John Modell (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press,1973), 78.

[12]. United States Department of War, Final Report, 213.

These newspapers and their duration of publication are as follows:

Fresno Grapevine (CA): May 23 - October 17 (?)
Manzanar Free Press (CA): April 11 - May 29
Marysville Arbo-Gram (CA): May 23 - June 13 (?)
Merced Mercedian (CA): June 9 - August 29
Pinedale Logger (CA): May 23 - July 14 (?)
Pomona Center News (CA): May 23 - August 15 (?)
Portland Evacuazette (OR): May 19 - August 20 (?)
Puyallup Camp Harmony News-Letter (WA): May 5 - August 14
Sacramento Walerga Wasp (CA): May 9 - June 14 (?)
Salinas Village Crier (CA): May 11 - June 28 (?)
Santa Anita Pacemaker (CA): April 18 - October 7
Stockton El Joaquin (CA): May 30 - September 28
Tanforan Totalizer (CA): May 15 to September 12
Tulare News (CA): May 6 - August 19
Turlock Fume-TAF (CA): June 3 - July 17 (?)

(Based on a letter from Norman Beasley, Major, A.U.S., Chief, Public Relations Division, WCCA, to Laurence M. C. Smith, Chief, Special War Policies Unit, War Division, Department of Justice, July 5, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.)

[13]. Ira K. Evans, Lt. Col., C.S.C., Assistant, Assistant Chief of Staff, Civil Affairs Division, WDC, to Operation Branch, T.S.O. Division, "Assembly Center News Publications," May 30, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.

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[14]. The following are the major works that resulted from the JERS documentary project: Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard Nishimoto, The Spoilage: The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement During World War II (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1946); Dorothy Swaine Thomas, The Salvage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952); Jacobus tenBroek, et al., Prejudice, War and the Constitution (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1954).

There is one unofficial book based on the JERS study: Morton Grodzins, Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1949). For reflections and critiques of the JERS study, see Yuji Ichioka, ed., Views From Within: The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (Los Angeles, CA: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1989).

[15]. Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 96; Dorothy S. Thomas, "Policy," n.d., pp.1, 3, 4, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 16, File: B8.34, Bancroft, UCB. For the basic characteristics of the Totalizer, see "Charles Kikuchi Diary," August 12, 1942, p.518, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 96, File: W1.80, Bancroft, UCB; Shimada, Nikkei Americajin no Taiheiyo Senso, 44-48.

[16]. Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 54, 68.

[17]. Yoshiko Uchida, Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1982), 76; Dorothy S. Thomas, "The Tanforan Totalizer," n.d., p.1, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 16, File: B8.34, Bancroft, UCB; United States Department of War, Final Report, 213.

[18]. Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 56; "Editorial ...," Tanforan Totalizer 15 May 1942: 1. For details about the JERS project and Kikuchi's involvement in it, see David K. Yoo, Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924-49 (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 149-171.

[19]. Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 78; Philip J. Sinnott, Captain, M.I., Press Relations Division, WCCA, to Chief, Public Relations Division, "Distribution of Center Publications," May 26, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.

[20]. Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 160, 161.

[21]. "Charles Kikuchi Diary," July 17, 1942, p.375, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 96, File: W1.80, Bancroft, UCB; Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 173.

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[22] Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 87; "Editorial," Tanforan Totalizer 30 May 1942: 1.

[23] Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 100; Dorothy S. Thomas, "Censorship," n.d., p.1, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 16, File: B8.34, Bancroft, UCB.

[24] Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 96; "Charles Kikuchi Diary," August 12, 1942, p.518, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 96, File: W1.80, Bancroft, UCB; "Editorial ...," Tanforan Totalizer 15 May 1942: 1.

[25] "Minutes of the Center Council," July 7, 1942, p.4, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 14, File: B4.10, Bancroft, UCB.

[26] Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 120.

[27] Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 95, 158; "Editorial," Tanforan Totalizer 4 July 1942: 1.

[28] Kikuchi, The Kikuchi Diary, 156, 201, 182.

[29] Edwin Bates, Chief, Information Service Division, WRA, to John Bird, Director of Information, WRA, "OFF Material for Assembly and Relocation Centers," May 25, 1942, Record Group 210, Entry 16, Box 429, File 69,033, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[30] Cited in Thomas, "Censorship," p.12; Ibid., p.1.

[31] Tamotsu Shibutani, Haruo Najima, and Tomika Shibutani, "The First Month at the Tanforan Assembly Center for Japanese Evacuees: A Preliminary Report," n.d., p.20, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 16, File: B8.31, Bancroft, UCB.

[32] "Pacemaker, Leader in Democracy," Santa Anita Pacemaker 2 June 1942: 2. The circulations figures are taken from Anthony L. Lehman, Birthright of Barbed Wire: The Santa Anita Assembly Center for the Japanese (Los Angeles, CA: Westernlore Press, 1970), 58.

[33] Eddie Shimano, Chief Editor, Santa Anita Pacemaker, to Bradford Smith, Foreign Language Division, Office of Facts and Figures, May 1, 1942, Records of the WRA, Reel: 1, File: Pacemaker.

[34] Carey McWilliams, "Moving the West-Coast Japanese," Harper's Magazine, September 1942: 362; Lehman, Birthright of Barbed Wire, 57, 58.

[35] "The Evacuee Speaks: Newsletter," September 15, 1942, p.5, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 83, File: T5.097, Bancroft, UCB.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

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[38] Shuji Fujii, to Karl R. Bendetsen, WCCA, May 20, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.

[39] Isamu Noguchi, a close friend of Fujii and then an evacuee at the Poston Relocation Center, Arizona, sent letters to leading civil libertarians such as the American Civil Liberties Union's (ACLU) Roger Baldwin and Carey McWilliams and asked them to rescue Fujii. (Isamu Noguchi, Poston Relocation Center, to Roger Baldwin, June 30, 1942, Reel: 207, Vol.2395, pp.94-95, ACLU: The Baldwin Years 1917-1950, Public Policy Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Isamu Noguchi, Poston Relocation Center, to Carey McWilliams, July 4, 1942, Hoover Institution; Margaret Kalisch, Secretary of Carey McWilliams, to Isamu Noguchi, July 7, 1942, Hoover Institution. The latter two letters are by the courtesy of Greg Robinson.)

For Fujii's petition to initiate a Japanese-language section or paper, see also Diary of Yamato Ichihashi, June 15, 1942, reprinted in Gordon H. Chang, ed., Morning Glory, Evening Shadow: Yamato Ichihashi and His Internment Writings, 1942-1945 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 117; Tamie Tsuchiyama, Santa Anita Assembly Center, to Robert H. Lowie, professor, University of California, Berkeley, June 24, 1942, reprinted in Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, The Politics of Fieldwork: Research in an American Concentration Camp (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1999), 38. Tsuchiyama wrote: "Curiously enough, the leader of this movement was removed this week from camp, but whether this was due to his agitation for a Japanese newspaper or because of his alleged Communistic leanings I have not yet been able to determine." (Ibid.)

In another report for JERS, Tsuchiyama wrote that Fujii was also one of those who were arrested by the FBI for holding a secret meeting. She wrote:

> Toward the middle of June S.F. circulated a petition for a Japanese newspaper in an effort to help the great number of Issei who could not read English. Since the Issei had been clamoring for one for some time they eagerly attached their signatures to the petition. Shortly after this S.F. was arrested by the F.B.I. in connection with participation in a "secret meeting" and the rumor spread through camp that he was the originator of the petition. Immediately hundreds of Issei stampeded to his door and demanded that his wife remove their names from the petition. They maintained that they did not wish to be connected with any "Communistic" scheme for fear of being refused entrance into Japan in post-war times. (Tamie Tsuchiyama, "Attitudes," n.d., pp.10-11, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, BANC MSS 67/14 c, Reel: 16, File: B8.05, Bancroft, UCB.)

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[40]. Estelle Ishigo, Lone Heart Mountain (Los Angeles, CA: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1972), 13; Ray Ashworth, Major AUS, Chief, Interior Security Section, WCCA, to Lt. Col. William A. Boekel, "Cartoon May 23 Issue Tulare Center News Sheet," June 5, 1942, Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 2, File 000.7, NARA, College Park, M.D.

[41]. Cited in Thomas, The Salvage, 334, 522; Lester E. Suzuki, Ministry in the Assembly and Relocation Centers of World War II (Berkeley, CA: Yardbird Publishing, 1979), 53.

[42]. "Hi Neighbor! I'm News: Want to Look Me Over?," Fresno Grapevine 4 July 1942: 3, in Record Group 338, Entry 2, Box 55, File 323.3, NARA, College Park, M.D.

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History

The *Farmer's Wife*: Creating A Sense of Community Among Kansas Women

Amy J. DeVault
Kansas State University

Introduction

More than fifty years before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, women's rights leaders worked for woman suffrage in individual states, with Kansas as one of the leaders. Kansas legislators put a woman suffrage amendment to a popular vote in1867--the first major woman suffrage effort after the Civil War. Although the amendment did not pass, Kansas remained a leader in the women's movement, and since Kansas helped lead the way in so many areas of women's rights, it seems fitting that a suffrage publication would have emerged from the state. Although national suffrage publications such as *The Revolution* and *Women's Journal* helped make great gains for the women's movement, smaller, more localized publications often made more direct and specific appeals. Regional suffrage publications could give arguments specific to the women of that area. Furthermore, some of the influential regional publications were actually publications for other interest groups. These publications had readers who were already bonded by some group or interest and then used that common interest to make suffrage appeals.

When Emma and Ira Pack began publishing The *Farmer's Wife* in 1891, they claimed as their purpose to promote the causes of the Farmer's Alliance and improve the quality of life for rural women. However, rhetoric of the women's movement quickly emerged and soon dominated the Kansas publication, providing women's rights arguments soundly based on women's duties and responsibilities to both their families and to the Farmer's Alliance. Editor Emma Pack wrote in 1892:

> No man is worthy the name of husband who will not do all in his power to place in woman's hand that great weapon, the ballot, that she may be able to help suppress these terrible wrongs and no American woman

> who is not dead to all the God given motherly instincts within her will quietly sit with folded hands and say they have all the rights they need.[1]

Suffrage publications as well as other publications that supported the suffrage cause provided one of the leading tools in gaining support for the enfranchisement of women. Since Kansas was a leader in both the suffrage cause and in the rise of Populism, the Farmer's Wife is an important publication, especially considering the networking ties between the two movements. This study asks: How did *The Farmer's Wife* attempt to create a sense of community and common identity among women in order to further the women's movement and suffrage cause?

Kansas as a leader in women's rights

A leader in reform during her early years, Kansas proved full of both controversy and progress in areas such as temperance, prohibition, Populism and women's rights. As Jane O. Underwood notes in "Civilizing Kansas: Women's Organizations, 1880-1920," "Kansas had always been a leader in the campaign for women's rights. Clarina Howard Nichols lobbied the 1859 Wyandotte Constitutional Convention for woman suffrage, and while she lost the battle, she gained women the unprecedented right to acquire and possess property and to retain equal custody of their children."[2]

Kansas women gained other important rights along the way to full suffrage. In 1861 Kansas women could vote in school board elections, in 1887 they could vote in municipal elections, and in 1912 they could vote in all state and national elections — eight years before the Nineteenth Amendment granting all women full suffrage.[3] It took Kansas voters three major campaigns (1867, 1894, and 1912) to pass a woman suffrage amendment, but when they did in 1912, Kansas became only the eighth state to give women the right to vote in all elections.

Kansas gained statehood with more progressive laws regarding women than any other state in the Union. In 1861 the first state legislature granted Kansas women the right to vote in school board elections. The University of Kansas opened in 1864 as the first university in the United States to "receive both men and women on an equal basis."[4] In 1867 Kansas legislators, along with those of New York, gave voters the opportunity to pass an amendment to the state constitution, giving women the right to vote in all elections. If the Kansas amendment had passed, Kansas would have been the first state to grant full suffrage to women. These early hints of progress for women's rights prompted interest from the most prominent woman suffrage leaders in the United States. Of the 1867 Kansas campaign, Elizabeth Cady Stanton in *History of Woman Suffrage* wrote, "There never was a more hopeful interest concentrated on the legislation of any single state, than when Kansas submitted the two propositions to her people to take the words 'white' and 'male' from her constitution."[5]

During the 1867 campaign, national suffragist Lucy Stone became the most prominent speaker, traveling the state for four months speaking to anyone who would listen. Most Kansas newspaper editors met Stone either with antagonism and attack or with no mention at all.[6] When Susan B. Anthony gave up on her own state of New York, she and fellow suffrage leader Elizabeth Cady Stanton focused their efforts on Kansas, campaigning there for two months leading up to the November 5, 1867 election.[7] Despite the efforts of local and national suffragists, the white male voters of Kansas defeated the woman suffrage amendment with 9,010 votes for the amendment and 19,857 votes against the amendment.[8]

The loss in Kansas prompted Stanton and Anthony to make two decisions. First, they decided a newspaper would help them lobby for woman's suffrage. While in Kansas, they met George Francis Train, who offered to financially support a newspaper. Stanton and Anthony published the first issue of their weekly newspaper *The Revolution* in January 1868.[9] Secondly, Stanton and Anthony began focusing on a federal constitutional amendment, feeling that state-by-state amendments would prove too slow and inefficient.[10]

Somewhat discouraged, Kansas women put woman suffrage on the back burner for more than a decade, concentrating their efforts on reform, including temperance and prohibition. The first woman suffrage organization in the state was not formed until 1879. In 1884 Kansas suffragists formed the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association. Kansas women gained the right to vote in municipal elections in 1887. The same year, the voters of Argonia, Kansas, elected the nation's first woman mayor, Susanna Madora Salter. One year later, in 1888 the voters of Oskaloosa, Kansas, angry with the management by the town's male city council members, elected an all-female city council with a woman mayor.[11]

With the efforts of newly formed suffrage organizations and the rise of Populism, Kansas voters had their second opportunity for the enfranchisement of women in 1994. The Populist Party gained control of the Kansas House of Representatives in 1891, the same year Ira and Emma Pack began publishing the *Farmer's Wife*. At the state conventions in 1894, the parties declared their stand on woman suffrage: Republicans, no stand; Democrats, opposed; Prohibition Party, endorsed suffrage; Populists, adopted a suffrage plank. With the fierce and heated competition between Kansas Populists and Republicans, after the Populists endorsed woman suffrage, the Republicans refused to endorse it, making the suffrage cause a party issue. Again, Kansas attracted national suffrage leaders, such as Susan B. Anthony. Kansas suffrage leaders tried to remain unconnected with any political party; however, it was too late for nonpartisan campaigning. Wilda Smith argues in "A Half Century of Struggle: Gaining Woman Suffrage in Kansas" that "The woman's cause was already linked to the Populist party in the eyes of the Kansas voter, and the success of the amendment depended on the fortunes of that party."[12] Again, Kansas voters failed to adopt the woman suffrage amendment in 1894.

In 1890, Wyoming gained statehood as the first state to give full voting privileges to women. Colorado passed a woman suffrage amendment in 1893, followed by Idaho and Utah in 1896. During the 1911-1912 campaign in Kansas, suffragists made two major changes based on advice from states that successfully gained amendments and on the failures of the last two campaigns in Kansas. First, they remained nonpartisan, feeling that having ties with any political party hurt their chances of success. Second, they did most of their own speaking and campaigning. Following the two previous campaigns, some Kansas men and women argued that the national figures speaking across the state did not know about life in Kansas and did not understand the politics and needs of the people of Kansas. On November 5, 1912, Kansans voted for a woman suffrage amendment to their state constitution, becoming the eighth state to grant full voting rights to women. A total of seventeen states allowed women voting rights before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1920.

Suffrage publications

Unable to vote in the majority of states until 1920, financially dependent on men, ignored and stereotyped by the mainstream media, women for 150 years used the only means available to gain rights. Women formed organizations, held demonstrations, organized lectures and established their own journalistic publications.[13] Since women were not in the position to use force to get what they wanted and since they could not vote to achieve their goals, suffragists had to rely on persuasion. In an attempt to persuade both men and women, suffrage rhetoric took many forms: speeches to the public and later before legislative groups; press coverage of speeches, which was often not favorable; editorials, also often against the movement; and periodicals published and edited by sympathizers. Through periodicals, leaders "could reach, educate, and inspire scores of women who could not be tapped by other means."[14]

Suffrage periodicals served two main purposes. First, the editors wanted to gain support for the cause. For many women in the 1800s, the designated roles of women were so deeply ingrained the notions of the early women's movement were not easily accepted. Martha Solomon says in "The Role of the Suffrage Press in Woman's Rights Movement":

> The early woman's movement emerged from a social context where woman's place was firmly in the home and man's in the public sphere. Women defined themselves in terms of their domestic roles and were consistently urged to see themselves as emotionally, mentally, and physically unfit for public life. This common identity allegedly provided a foundation for the social order.[15]

The women's movement began rejecting the stereotypes and definitions of women's roles; however, the suffrage leaders needed to raise the consciousness of all women. Solomon suggests three main ways suffrage publications helped build a new sense of community and commonality among women. First, suffragists gave "persuasive analysis" of the common barriers faced by women. Second, they tried to convince women that they could bring about social change. Third, they attempted to shape the women into organized groups, working for a common cause.[16] Suffrage periodicals encouraged women to think of themselves as competent and able persons who could think for themselves and make good decisions. They encouraged women to read arguments in newspapers and periodicals and then decide for themselves if they agreed or disagreed.

During the nineteenth century, women's place was clearly established and limited to the home. Barbara Welter has written about American women in the nineteenth century and says, "Woman's role had clearly been defined. The attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself, was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society, could be divided into four cardinal virtues—piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity."[17] The editors of suffrage publications sought to replace the ideas of the True Woman offered by the mainstream press of the nineteenth century, with their concept of the New Woman. "To be acceptable to many women acculturated into fixed social roles, this new woman had to evince allegiance to traditional values as she embraced new roles and responsibilities," according to Solomon.[18] Suffrage supporters needed to have the same sense of identity to help form sisterhood and a cohesive community. Linda Steiner suggests three distinct ideal types of women emerged in journals of the women's movement: a sensible woman, a strong-minded woman, and a responsible woman.[19]

The second function of suffrage periodicals was to help organize, train and inform movement leaders and participants. Through their publications, suffrage leaders motivated other leaders and supporters. They provided information, accomplishments, goals, and arguments — the tools needed to further the campaign. The journals kept members informed, provided other suffragists arguments to incorporate into their own work, and frequently reminded readers of the progress already made and the purpose of further work.[20]

The Farmer's Alliance

The Farmer's Alliance movement emerged in the 1880s, initially as a non-political group, and rapidly gained membership in Kansas. The Alliance created cooperatives to aid farmers in the buying and selling of products and formed a united coalition to fight oppression and work for the progress of farmers. As membership and meeting attendance grew, the Farmer's Alliance began laying the foundation for the People's Party (also known as Populism), whose members sought to replace the corrupted government officials with those for the people. By 1890, the

Kansas Farmer's Alliance claimed 100,000 members, threatening for the first time the Republican dominance in Kansas government.[21]

Women became a vital force for the Farmer's Alliance, with two Kansas women emerging as leading orators, both locally and nationally, for the Alliance cause. Annie L. Diggs became well known nationally as a Populist orator and also worked in temperance reform and woman suffrage.[22] A prominent contributor to the *Farmer's Wife*, Diggs remained loyal to the Populist Party, insisting that they would be the party to enfranchise women. Mary Lease, another contributor to the *Farmer's Wife*, spoke in Atlanta on August 4, 1891. As reported by the *Farmer's Wife*, the *Atlanta Constitution* said the following about Mrs. Lease:

> Mr. Livingston introduced one of the most famous if not altogether the most famous women on earth, Mrs. Mary E. Lease, the friend of all good and the exposer of all corrupt in politics. She then proceeded to deliver a most eloquent oration; a speech no statesmen might not have been proud to call his own; one which was full of wisdom and strength as it was devoid of malice and bigotry.[23]

When Ira and Emma D. Pack began publishing the *Farmer's Wife* in July of 1891, it was to be a paper by and for the women of the Alliance. In fact from 1882 to 1891, Ira Pack published the *City and Farm Record*, a Kansas Farmer's Alliance newspaper. In the first issue of the *Farmer's Wife*, the flag states that the publication is "consolidated from *City and Farm Record* and *Ladies' Home Journal*," published previously in Kansas by Emma Pack. The first issue was labeled Volume I, Number 1. The flag changed on the seventh issue, stating "Formerly *City and Farm Record*" and labeling the issue Volume X, Number 7. Emma Pack was not actually listed as the editor until the fourth issue, October 1891. In that issue, Emma Pack announced the formation of the National Women's Alliance. Along with a list of the organization's officers and constitution, the article listed the *Farmer's Wife* as the "official organ" of the National Women's Alliance. Notably, the president, secretary, and treasurer were all Kansas women and contributors to the *Farmer's Wife*.

Although initially a voice for Populism and women's involvement in the Alliance, the writers and editor of the *Farmer's Wife* took the opportunity to promote and celebrate the successes of women all over the world and the involvement of women in the Alliance; eventually, they devoted the publication almost entirely to the advancement of women, specifically gaining the ballot. Even though officially an Alliance publication, the editor proved in the September 1993 issue that a primary purpose of the publication was to promote the suffrage cause.

> Now, be men worthy of the name, and all, black and white alike, put your shoulder to the wheel and let the stars and stripes wave over free women as well as free men. Will you? If so, let every man who is in favor of the amendment carrying, send us $1.00 and the names of two people, men or women, who are not in favor of suffrage, and we will send The Farmer's Wife and convert them. We know we can with the host of contributors we have on the suffrage question. We believe there is no person who will read our paper who can help becoming converted.[24]

When Mrs. Gougar, a national speaker for woman suffrage, spoke at the convention of the equal suffragists, in Kansas City, Kansas, on September 1,1893, she asked how many of the 2,000 in attendance took a suffrage paper. The *Farmer's Wife* published excerpts from her speech, including a comment about the *Farmer's Wife*. "You have one of the best equal suffrage papers right here in Kansas. It is the *Farmer's Wife*, published by Mrs. Pack of Topeka. It is chock full of suffrage news every issue and is only 50 cents a year."[25]

The *Farmer's Wife*, an eight-page tabloid newspaper, was published monthly from July 1891 to October 1894. Published in Topeka, Kansas, no circulation records are available. Calls for subscriptions and numerous letters to the editor suggest that there were at least some out-of-state subscribers. Though the editor often proclaimed success in subscription numbers, the publication frequently advertised reduced subscription rate specials and discounts for anyone soliciting new subscriptions. During its final year of publication, an ad proclaimed that the publishers were doing fine financially and that most of the money from subscriptions would go directly to supporting the suffrage cause.

The *Farmer's Wife* clearly had an agenda; however, the editor and writers worked to form a delicate balance between new ideas of the women's movement and the traditional values and ideals of the women living on Kansas farms, the primary audience. Linda Steiner, in her study of rhetorical strategies in suffrage publications, wrote, "The woman celebrated in the *Farmer's Wife* confronted the same moral, political, and social issue described in the *Woman's Journal*, but the form of the argument was adapted to farm women's interests."[26]

How did the *Farmer's Wife* attempt to create a sense of community and common identity among Kansas women and what functions did it seek to serve in the advancement of Kansas women? Through narrative analysis of the content of this monthly publication during its three years of publication, this study will describe how the *Farmer's Wife* promoted the women's movement and equal suffrage within the context of Kansas Populism. Twenty-eight issues of the *Farmer's Wife*, from July 1861 to October 1894, were examined for rhetoric concerning women's roles, education of women, women's work in the Farmer's Alliance, and women's suffrage and equal rights. A total of 376 articles dealing with these issues were examined.[27] This study will add to the understanding of the history of alternative and women's media in the United States and of the rhetoric of the women's suffrage movement.

Farmer's Wife

With the common bonds of the Alliance already established, the Farmer's Alliance possessed an ideal opportunity to use those common bonds to alter the concepts of women's roles, identities, and rights. Emma Pack took advantage of that opportunity. The *Farmer's Wife* served three important functions working toward the goals of the women's movement: changing the identity of women, consciousness-raising and calling both women and men to action. The rhetoric over the three years of publication changes, beginning with stories about women being educated, accomplishing success and participating in the Alliance, then moving to appeals to the women as mothers needing to protect their family and work for a moral society, and finally encouraging the women readers to claim their natural, God-given rights.

While the majority of the *Farmer's Wife* was devoted to the Alliance and later to the suffrage amendment, a variety of departments remained throughout the publication's existence that were more typical of the era's mainstream women's magazines. For example, a fashion department kept readers up to date on the latest trends for both women and young girls. Most of these articles were reprinted from national women's publications and included advice and tips for creating patterns and sewing these trendy designs. While the styles usually did not seem to fit the lifestyle of the farm wives as described by the *Farmer's Wife*, the articles and sketches surely kept Kansas women up to date with society fashions. The Household department shared recipes, tips for household duties, time saving ideas, and updates on new products and advances in domestic appliances. For example, it included articles about how to hang-dry rubber boots, how to create a water filter, and how to make the most of every bit of food available.

Though primarily geared to women, the *Farmer's Wife* offered reading for other members of the family as well, with departments for both farmers and children. The Agricultural department "for our rural friends" provided short articles about livestock, crops, new inventions, and business. The children's departments, For Our Little Folks and Youth Corner, included poetry, short stories, anecdotes and humorous tidbits, usually attempting to teach virtues such as kindness, respect, hard work and charity.

Aside from those constant departments, the articles in the Farmer's Wife dealt with women, their duties and responsibilities, the problems they faced, their work in organizations and the Alliance, and the advancements of women and women's rights. Almost always true to the Alliance cause, most of the rhetoric for women's rights, especially in the earliest issues, was embedded in the reform movement of the Populist/People's Party. For example, on the first page of the first issue, July 1891, Bina. A. Otis, wife of congressman John Otis, wrote concerning the reform movement of the Alliance, incorporating women's rights within this movement.

> We are on the eve of a revolution equal to that of our forefathers when they rebelled against the tyranny of the mother country. They fought for the land of the free and the home of the brave, and are we going to permit the same country to become the land of the rich and the home of the slave, and will we leave as a legacy to our children a country so covered with mortgages, bonds and other forms of debt, that all through their lives they will feel that they have a mill-stone around their necks? I say no. Thank God the awakening has come. The Alliance is to be our leader and will take us safely into the promised land, where the farmers shall have their just dues. This great reform movement is before us. It is for the protection of our homes; and who can be more interested in the homes of the country than the American women?[28]

Thus laid the foundation of the arguments for women's rights as offered by the *Farmer's Wife*.

Women need to be educated

One of the first encouragements offered to women by the *Farmer's Wife* was to become educated, which could of course, be achieved through the participation in the Farmer's Alliance. "The educational feature of the Alliance is affording us greater opportunities for self-improvement than did the school days of many of us."[29] Women's clubs in general, suggested the writers, provided educational opportunities for women, including public speaking, parliamentary procedure, ability to think fast to formulate and communicate ideas. In addition, the clubs helped replace gossip with deep thinking and purpose[30]. In the third issue, women were urged to study politics and know what was going on in government. While it was hoped that women would eventually gain full suffrage, even while they did not have it, they were the mothers of future voters. As the article "Let Women Study Politics" noted in 1891:

> For women to be indifferent and ignorant when their own affairs are the subject of legislation, and laws are being formulated concerning their property and their children, their advice in the matter not asked, nor approval sought, is to justify the category in which women are frequently mentioned—women, children and idiots.[31]

Women were also encouraged to study business, and husbands encouraged to teach them. To be a successful housekeeper, it was suggested, a woman needed to know how to manage certain affairs, including budgeting, to help save money.[32] Additionally, women needed to be prepared if her husband should die, so that she could manage the affairs without having to employ the help of someone who might cheat her. "We do not advocate that it is best or wise for a woman to be at the head of the business establishment, but we do advocate the propriety of a woman understanding her husband's business in all its details, so to enable her, if sickness or death comes, to take care of her interests and those of her children."[33] Pack took care with this early plea not to overstep the traditional boundaries of woman's role, but offered strong arguments why a woman should learn the basics of her husband's business.

Nettie S. Nutt opened an article on the education of women with a story about Napolean asking Mme. De Steal what to do to promote welfare and happiness of the French people. Her answer to Napolean was to educate the mothers. Nutt continues, "Educate and enoble the mother and the result will be a nation of powerful intellects, wise, just and human laws, and a prosperous contented people, dwelling in the light of knowledge and liberty."[34] Especially in the early issues of the Farmer's Wife, articles discussed women being educated and encouraged farm women to do what they could to learn about everything from cooking and mothering skills to business and politics. Reading and getting involved in organizations such as the Farmer's Alliance were especially encouraged.

Success among women

With women's roles clearly defined to the home and their place firmly established below that of their male counterparts, many women in the nineteenth century did not jump at the chance to change their status. By providing examples of women being successful in non-traditional roles and endeavors, editors sought to help women learn to accept new ideas about their place in society. The more they learned about what other women were doing, the more they might accept some of the new ideas and identities. The writers for the *Farmer's Wife* gave women the chance to read about achievements, advancements, and successes of other women.

A frequent column was Encouraging Words, full of one or two-sentence descriptions of women in non-traditional roles, such as having jobs, working her own farm or working to become a dentist. The facts often included women from other countries. "On Irish railways, women are employed as booking clerks, and in Dublin tickets are almost entirely given by women."[35] The *Farmer's Wife* reprinted a brief about women journalists, by Edward W. Bok.

> 'Let me give you a fact about women as journalists in my office,' said the editor of one of the largest dailies to me a few days ago. 'Five years ago I employed one woman on my staff; to day (sic) I have over twenty, and the best work which appears in our paper is from the pens of our women writers.'[36]

The publication also consistently reported of successes in other states on any issue pertaining to women's rights, from the right of married women to enter a legal contract to the right of women to vote, most notably when Wyoming entered the union with full suffrage and when Colorado passed a suffrage amendment.

The writers also worked to empower farm women with feelings of equality and intelligence. After hearing enough times that women were intellectually inferior to men, they would have to hear the opposite over and over again before believing it to be true. As one article argued in 1891:

> The women on the farm are intelligent as a class. They work, and read, and think. They devote what leisure time they have to reading, instead of fashionable dress and society calls. Consequently, they are well informed on the leading topics of the day, and many a woman now living on a Kansas farm in her girlhood attended the best schools. Yet these women are disenfranchised.[37]

The *Farmer's Wife* reported news of women organizing events for the state fair and the world's fair, of women doing notable work for churches and schools, and of women helping to elect noble candidates in school district and municipal elections.

Women and the Farmer's Alliance/ People's Party

The *Farmer's Wife* usually devoted one page each issue to the developments and politics of the People's Party, including proposed legislation, columns written by party leaders and instructions to Alliance and party members. However, even more space was devoted to the work women were doing and could do for the Alliance. M.E. Clark wrote in 1891, "Long before I became a member of the Alliance, I heard it said that the Alliance owed its success largely to its women.... In every reform movement that is of importance to the people, you will find none more earnest and vigilant, none more willing and anxious to assist than women."[38] As much as the women helped the People's Party, they also made it clear they expected to be helped in return.

> The People's party is the first big national party born of both men and women. Keep the sisters in it. Let no conventions or gatherings of the new party be such that women cannot in decency take part in it. Give us no candidates woman cannot cheerfully support with her voice til she gets her vote.... Let every action be good enough for her endorsement—for her zealous and spirited espousal in the home and on the political battlefield.[39]

Early articles concerning women and the Alliance focused on issues of economy and farm legislation reform, but as soon as the National Women's Alliance was formed, most of the rhetoric concerning the Alliance dealt first and foremost with gaining the ballot. In November 1892, the *Farmer's Wife* announced the possibility of Mary E. Lease being the Populist candidate for United States Senator. "It is not absolutely certain that the Populists will select the next senator, but granting that they do, it ought not to surprise those who have followed Kansas politics if Mrs. Lease were the fortunate one."[40] The following issue devoted the entire front page and half of another page to letters endorsing Mary E. Lease for senator. One of the letters was from Susan B. Anthony: "I see your name mentioned for United States senator. I hope the new party, the People's party will demonstrate that they believe in practice as well as theory, that women are people; and in no way can they make it more clear, in no way more just, than in electing you to the senate."[41] Anthony also took the opportunity to encourage Lease and other Kansans to secure the ballot for women, encouraging them to secure the support of both major parties.

> If you and Mrs. Diggs can secure this from the People's party and Mrs. John secure it from the Republican party—Kansas is sure to be the second state in the union, free and equal for women and we can add to the blue of our flag a second star and have inscribed on it the talismanic name of Kansas, alongside that of the pride and glory of our nation—Wyoming![42]

The *Farmer's Wife* proudly included the work done for the People's Party by women, suggesting with every issue that the Kansas women had much to do with the success of this new party.

Suffrage rhetoric and arguments

By the eighth issue of *Farmer's Wife*, a noticeable increase in suffrage rhetoric appeared, occupying most of both the front page and page four, the editorial page. However, one of the first bold statements for women's suffrage in the *Farmer's Wife*, printed in the second issue, came in the form of reprinted Fourth of July speech made by Fannie McCormick at Manhattan, Kansas. "The ladies are here because in this grand republic woman has been accorded more rights and privileges and is more nearly on political equality with man than in any nation on earth. They still remind their brothers, however, that taxation without representation is not justice, and threaten to throw 'the tea overboard' if full suffrage is not given them."[43] Speeches and lectures were a major part of the suffrage rhetoric in the *Farmer's Wife*, especially during the last year of publication, leading up to the popular vote on the suffrage amendment in 1894.

Suffrage leaders and writers for the *Farmer's Wife* tugged at the motherly heartstrings of women, providing the first key argument for equal voting rights for women. The arguments drew on old ideas about women's place and women's roles. If woman's first duty is to her home and her family, then is it not her responsibility as a wife and mother to do everything possible to make society of better and moral place to raise her family? What better and more direct way to make changes than through the ballot?

> The destroyers of homes and families are well entrenched—behind the statutes of law, in front by public opinion and flanked on either side by ignorance and credulity. We are powerless. We can do nothing while we are shut out, save to look through the windows of the saloon, with feelings that none but a mother can know. ... As a nation we are politically corrupt, and shall it be said we are morally so? As we revere truth and justice, and all that tends to a higher civilization, we say that both political and moral necessity demands the free and full franchise of all women, both white and black.[44]

Emma Pack's November 1891 editorial offers a concise relationship between the People's Party and woman suffrage. "Victory for the People's Party means victory for women. Victory for the women means Prohibition—first, last and all the time. It is woman's first duty to help her own home. Can she do it without the ballot?"[45] If women could gain the ballot, she could ensure prohibition, help elect moral and honest candidates (Populists), thus ending the corruption in government, and help decide legislation that affects her children—all noble and just causes to help make society a better place.

In November 1892, the *Farmer's Wife* announced that both the Republicans and Populists in Kansas Legislature agreed to submit the question of equal suffrage to the voters. The question would appear in the next general election, November 1894. With this announcement, the *Farmer's Wife* became a full-fledged suffrage publication, increasing the legitimization of equal suffrage for women and encouraging all men and women to support the cause.

> Now that the question of equal suffrage is to be submitted it behooves every suffragist to gird on the armor of war to commence at once and not stop until the women of Kansas obtain the full rights of citizenship which our heavenly Father vouch-safe to her from the beginning of time. The *Farmer's Wife* will be the leading factor in this fight and we invite all to give us a helping hand to place our mothers, our wives, our daughters and our sisters on an equal footing with men in this great race of life and battle for bread.[46]

The announcement was followed by twenty-four statements from politicians, writers, reform workers, and notable citizens favoring the vote for women. Readers were encouraged to make sure all political parties supported and endorsed the cause. However, the *Farmer's Wife* did remain loyal to the People's Party, claiming it would be the one to win the ballot for Kansas women.

The arguments for woman suffrage became more direct. Women are people; women are citizens; women should vote. During the last year of the *Farmer's Wife* publication, that leading up to the November 1894 general election, the editor and contributors urged women to demand full suffrage. They continued their arguments based on duty and responsibility, but added the argument of equality as a natural, God-given right.

> Until woman's equality with man is legally recognized she can never be a free American citizen and enjoy the natural rights to which she is entitled under our present condition.... The vital question that confronts the women of Kansas at the present time is not whether her kitchen floor shall be scrubbed twice or six times each week, nor whether her daughter's dress shall be elaborate as that of her girl friends, or that her own be made according to the latest fashion, but rather that her daughters shall have the same opportunities to earn an honest and honorable living as her sons, and have a voice in the government she helps to support with her taxes, a voice in laws to which she must be subject.[47]

In addition to bolder arguments, the *Farmer's Wife* published more endorsements, results of any political party convention, and speeches from the numerous women's organizations in the state, especially the equal suffrage association. The May 1894 *Farmer's Wife* reported a meeting in Topeka, Kansas, on May 9, that had more than 3,000 in attendance. Most of that issue was taken up with speeches made by Emma Pack, Bina Otis, Annie Diggs, Susan B. Anthony, and Annie Shaw.

Suffrage leaders hung blue flags at their conventions, with a star on them for each state with full suffrage rights for women. As the November election neared, the *Farmer's Wife* ran large, front-page ads urging readers to help make Kansas the third star (along with Wyoming and Colorado), as well as essays explaining the absurdity of the arguments against woman suffrage. Mary Lease wrote one of the strongest rebuttals early, in the October 1891 issue. She explained that she had the Bible quoted at her as an argument against emancipation of women too many times. Those using the Bible as an argument against women's equality, Lease explained, only use certain parts, failing to mention strong, important women such as Miriam or Deborah, who was a judge and ruler of Israel.

> But the very fact that God created the male first gives him precedence and superiority, we are told. Well then, we find that God created the fowls of the air, the fishes of the sea, and every creeping thing upon earth; does precedence in creation give them superiority over man? Rather let us reason that as the improved steam power cylindrical printing press is an improvement over the lumber-some uncouth hand-lever press of a few years ago, so the lower animals were God's experiment, man the culmination of His practice, and woman, because LAST, the crowning masterpiece of HIS workmanship.[48]

In the May 1894 issue, a speech given by Annie Diggs' is printed in which she pokes fun at and shows the absurdity of some of the common objections to woman suffrage.

> It is said that the women can't vote and go to the polls without neglecting their babies and household duties. I notice that we can go to church, or the theater, or a circus, or into society without anybody, not even the editors, howling about the neglected babies. It doesn't take near as long to go to the polls, but the moment we go there the men for the first time in their lives begin to worry about the little ones....It is said that we can't go to the polls in safety. I have gone a great many times and I would rather go there than to the post-office on a crowded day.[49]

The *Farmer's Wife* equipped readers with rebuttals to almost every objection to woman suffrage imaginable, while continually providing the arguments for woman suffrage.

While the rhetoric in the *Farmer's Wife* remained positive, assuring readers that Kansas would be the third star, the competition and tension between political parties, especially between the Republicans and Populists, was evident. For many issues before the political conventions, at which their platforms were determined, the articles in the *Farmer's Wife* seemed confident that both major parties would endorse woman suffrage. However, with suffrage as a platform on the Populist ticket, many bitter Republicans seemed to favor voting for their party rather than for a cause—even one so desired by their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters. In the August 1894 issue, just three months before the election, the *Farmer's Wife* makes a plea to those Republicans and Democrats.

> But for the man who was honestly in favor of the amendment previous to the Populist convention, and now refuses to vote for it simply because the Populists placed it in their platform, places himself in no enviable position before the eyes of a sensible community. About as silly as some little girls I have known who would not wear their beautiful dress simply because some one whom they did not admire had one of the same pattern.[50]

The *Farmer's Wife* remained true to the People's Party, not distancing from it even when suffrage leaders saw that the suffrage issue being associated to one political party might prove fatal. Obviously, the editor and writers felt strongly about both their party and their cause.

Conclusion

In the end, no matter how much the women of Kansas wanted the vote, it was up to the Kansas men to give it to them. On the editorial page of the *Farmer's Wife*, June 1894, Pack pleaded for male voters' help. "The men of this state are usually broad-minded and progressive.

They will vote on the pending Woman Suffrage constitutional amendment on the 6th day of November next. We, their sisters, mothers, wives, daughters, sweethearts and friends, entreat them to vote 'Yes,' on the amendment."[51]

Honor their wishes the Kansas men did not. The *Farmer's Wife* ceased publishing directly after the second unsuccessful campaign for a woman suffrage amendment to the state of Kansas constitution in November 1894.

Suffrage rhetoric appeared in all issues of the *Farmer's Wife*; however, over the three years of publication, the amount increased significantly and it became more direct. In the final year of publication, leading up to the general election of 1894, the editor usually devoted all of the front page and the editorial page to suffrage articles, including speeches, essays, letters and reports from conventions and meetings of women's organizations. During that final year, the arguments for suffrage also became more directly related to women's rights. Though the writers still mentioned duty and responsibility, they began arguing that women had the natural, God-given right to vote. Articles addressed women being equal to men, created by God as man's equal partner in life.

While the writers addressed national conventions and efforts, the emphasis remained on Kansas and rural women. Writers often addressed farm women specifically, offering sympathy for the struggles and difficult conditions. They reminded farm women that they were not alone—other women understood their struggles and sympathized. So in addition to building a community of suffragists and women Populists, the *Farmer's Wife* built a community of farm women who shared common lifestyles and common struggles. The *Farmer's Wife* is was just one of many smaller, regional publications that contributed to the advancement of women, particularly woman suffrage. Much more research should be conducted on these publications and the roles they played in creating community, changing the identity and stereotypes of women, and organizing women to work for their cause. Their readership may have been small, but collectively they may have had an enormous effect on individual women of a particular region.

While the true effects of the *Farmer's Wife* are difficult to assess, the rhetoric served several necessary functions for the women's movement. Anyone who read the *Farmer's Wife*, read about women succeeding in roles different from the stereotypes of the time and about women's large role in a successful reform movement and political party. They read about women being intelligent and moral, and about women being educated and involved. All aided in the reshaping of women's identity, shifting away from the ideal of True Woman towards the hope of New Woman. Women learned of others in similar situations as their own. Readers learned of women's organizations and the ideas of the women's movement. Men and women read about suffrage efforts and successes. Through these consciousness-raising efforts the *Farmer's Wife* furthered the idea that maybe women should vote and maybe women do have more rights than they are currently allowed. Finally, the *Farmer's Wife* called brothers and sisters alike to action for the suffrage cause. The pages of the *Farmer's Wife* armed them with arguments for woman suffrage, rebuttals for opposition, chances to join organizations, and finally the urging to vote for the suffrage amendment in November 1894. All of these efforts helped create a sense of community and common identity among the readers of the *Farmer's Wife*—a community supportive of the *Farmer's Wife* slogan, "Equal Rights to All, Special Privilege to None."

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[22] Ibid., 281.

[23] *Atlanta Constitution*, reprinted in *Farmer's Wife*, September 1891, 4.

[24] Emma Pack, *Farmer's Wife*, September 1993, 4.

[25] Gougar, September 1893, 6

[26] Steiner, 14.

[27] Under the *Farmer's Wife* masthead usually appeared one or two columns of briefs concerning women's topics. Each column of these briefs has been counted as one article.

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Hist.

Citizen Hearst vs. Citizen Kane

The Battle Fought Behind the Release of One of the Greatest Cinematic Pictures of All Time

A historical study of the print media's coverage of
William Randolph Hearst's attempts to
prevent the release of *Citizen Kane.*

By Christopher Allan Faidley
Drake University Graduate Student
School of Journalism/Mass Communication
Des Moines, Iowa

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Introduction

Almost 60 years to date, *Citizen Kane* opened at the RKO Palace on Broadway in New York City on May 1, 1941. The picture would eventually be considered by many in cinematic circles, as the most outstanding film of all time. Pauline Kael wrote that *Kane* has been "more highly praised by the American press than any other movie in history."[1]

Although *Kane* was widely acclaimed from the beginning, a shroud of the controversy, partly by design, covered its anticipated release. This controversy can be traced back to January 3, 1941, when Louella Parsons, a nationally syndicated columnist for Hollywood, viewed a special rough-cut screening of the film.

> "Lolly Parsons nearly fell out of her chair. On the preview screen before her, Orson Welles, the bearded boy, was playing Citizen Kane, a corrupt newspaper publisher, in a way that reminded Cine-columnist Parsons irresistibly of her boss- William Randolph Hearst."[2]

This paper's research, however, does not concern whom the film was based on- a topic that has been covered many times over the past five decades. Instead, it delves into the journalistic coverage of Hearst's attempts to prevent *Citizen Kane*'s release, an original example of a media tycoon attempting to suppress the freedom of expression.

Prior to releasing the picture in May, RKO, *Kane*'s production studio, faced serious pressure from other major Hollywood studios. Lawsuits were threatened and top executives' reputations were put on the line. RKO gave serious thought to destroying the movie. Any mention of *Citizen Kane* (and for a short time, of any RKO pictures) was banned from many major newspapers across the country.

The studio also had a very difficult time booking *Kane* in major theaters. Since chains and exhibitors would not show the film, *Kane* opened on a roadshow campaign in a limited number of theaters and thus, the box office returns suffered.

Literature Review and Method

Originally, this research was intended to compare the coverage (primarily reviews) of *Citizen Kane* by Hearst-owned papers such as the Los Angeles *Examiner* and the New York *Mirror* to the relatively unbiased popular coverage by other press such as the New York *Times.*

However, after beginning the search for sources, it quickly became apparent that Hearst had placed a complete ban on all mention of *Citizen Kane* in his papers. More research showed the extent in which Hearst went to prevent the release of Welles' film. The emphasis of this paper was changed from a content analysis study comparing coverage to a comprehensive historical study of the popular and trade press' coverage of *Citizen Kane*'s release.

Hearst's attempts to suppress the film might be considered gatekeeping, although he was never directly involved. Hearst relied instead on intimidation and the influence of his underlings to pressure RKO into submission.

The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature was used to search under the headings of "Citizen Kane," "Orson Welles," and "William Randolph Hearst" since 1940, the year prior to the film's release. Approximately ten articles were located in magazines such as *Newsweek, Life* and *Time* between January 1940 and March 1942. Hundreds of articles were also located in popular daily papers during the same time period, such as those aforementioned, as well as in trade papers like *Variety*, which provided specific details on individual events during and prior to the picture's release.

No other published historical studies on the press' coverage of *Citizen Kane*'s release were located. However, there are many studies over other elements of the film.

Historians Robert Carringer[3] and Ronald Gottesman[4] have given broad reviews of *Kane*'s production and short, general sections on the film's release. Other researches centered on more specific controversial topics. For example, Pauline Kael argued that Herman Mankiewicz, who shared *Kane*'s screenplay credit with Welles, actually deserved full credit for the screenplay.[5]

The biggest argument, of course, was whom the screenplay was originally based on. Welles would always deny that *Kane* was based on Hearst. Thirty-five years after *Citizen Kane* was released, Welles drew point-by-point contrasts of the two.[6] Davies, Hearst's girlfriend, said neither she nor Hearst ever saw the film and that "the Hearst newspapers put a ban on it, as far as publicity went, but W.R. wasn't little that way."[7]

According to John W. Tebbel, Hearst and Davies *did* see *Kane* and Hearst is supposed to have said only, "We thought it was a little long." Tebbel added, "Contrary to legend, Hearst rather enjoyed seeing himself portrayed on the screen and naturally did not believe Orson Welles when he denied that the story was based on the publisher's life."[8]

Historian Carringer argued the original screenplay, titled *American*, "is…a literal reworking of specific incidents and details from Hearst's life."[9] David Thomson recently tried to make the case that *Kane* is based on the director himself.

> "I suggest that Herman Mankiewicz… wrote a script that was a cunning challenge to Welles. It said: Look, Orson, the world will think this is Hearst. But you and I will know it is you- with your great voice, your raging beauty, your notorious genius, your animal energy, your little boy vanity, your royal arrogance and that selfishness that permits you no other exit except self-destruction. So here it is, Orson, my gift to you. And Welles read and understood and accepted the challenge."[10]

These books, as well as the periodical articles themselves, provided a few specific additional sources that are included in this study.

> "For months there has been a great to-do over the first film opus of the 25-year-old boy wonder. Titled 'Citizen Kane,' it credits Welles as author, producer, director, and star. Mystery shrouded the one-man show while it was in production. Although it is an RKO picture, no one on the lot even read the script except George J. Schaefer, RKO president, and the studio's legal staff, who stethoscoped it for libel troubles. Actors in the film were given only their own parts, and visitors to the set were barred unless given permission by Welles himself."[11]

The Cracking Dam

Welles kept the Hearst connection to *Citizen Kane* under wraps by limiting access to the set and controlling publicity. Orson Welles' secret script was said to have changed so often that the actors could not even remember their lines.[12] Whatever the reason for the secrecy, the similarities between William Randolph Hearst, the publisher, and Charles Foster Kane, the character, were not mentioned in print until September 16, 1940. On that day, a *Newsweek* article claimed a copy of the *Citizen Kane* script had been sent to Hearst because a "columnist hinted it dealt with his life…Hearst approved it without comment."[13] The accuracy of this article will be discussed later.

Many other articles, such as two in the December 11, 1940, issue of *Variety* titled "Welles, His Hands Full, Shifts All Activities West" and "Orson Welles Chides Sponsor on Theme Song," made no mention of Hearst at all.[14]

In the December 1940 issue of *Stage*, a feature article on *Citizen Kane* summarized the plot but also failed to mention Hearst, instead comparing the film with the "Faust legend."[15]

Pressure had been building on maintaining *Kane's* secrecy, but the dam cracked on January 3. An advance leak in a *Hollywood Reporter* article described a rough-cut preview of *Kane* for national magazine writers Douglas Churchill (*Time*) and Jim Crow (*Look*), who faced early deadlines, as a showing for a "group of friends."[16]

That same day, Welles sent a telegram to his friend Hedda Hopper, another nationally syndicated Hollywood columnist, fearing she would read the *Reporter* article and feel slighted. Welles apologized for breaking his promise that she would be the first to see the film and invited her to join them.

According to the December 30, 1940, issue of *The Hollywood Reporter*, Mercury players, Broadway actors of the shutdown Mercury Theater stage operation whom Welles brought to California to fill roles, broke *Citizen Kane*'s code of silence while returning East.[17] RKO's studio publicity department said the blame should be on Mercury publicist Herbert Drake.

> "RKO studio publicity department said it had no part in the preliminary campaign on 'Kane,' but that Herb Drake, personal drumbeater for Welles, was given free hand to hop up interest in the picture. RKO-ites claim the preview for mag and news writers, from which seeped out the nature of the film, was arranged by Drake without tipping off studio flacks. They say he never took the press department into his confidence or disclosed what he intended to do."[18]

The dam broke completely shortly after, when Parsons, the motion picture editor of International New Service and the Hollywood correspondent for Hearst papers, discovered an article set to run in *Friday* magazine. The article drew point-by-point comparisons between Charles Foster Kane and her boss, William Randolph Hearst.[19]

Welles was extremely upset by the January 17 *Friday* article and wrote a letter to the magazine addressing his anger, which was published in the February 14 issue of *Friday*. "In *Friday's* coverage of *Citizen Kane* only two statements are strictly true," wrote Welles. "These are both too trivial to bear reprinting."[20]

On a personal note to Parsons, the *Friday* article also mentions the advance buildup she had given the film.[21] According to *Variety* (January 22), Parsons "had been loudly drum-beating for (Welles) as a boy wonder, after much of Hollywood had begun to scoff at his long stay on the RKO lot before production on his first picture started."[22]

Variety (January 10, 1940) stated earlier that RKO shelved Welles' first film "Heart of Darkness," because of its estimated budget of $1,100,000.[23] He had been taking heat from other Hollywood residents as well for the past two years.

> "From the moment he arrived there its citizens resented him and his Martians and his youth and his talent. When he grew a beard for his first film ("Heart of Darkness"), a sporty press agent sent him a bearded ham for Christmas; while he was dining out one evening, a playful actor cut off his tie with a table knife; columnists dubbed him with nicknames like "Little Orson Annie."[24]

In his letter, Welles explained that *Friday* overstated Parson's praise and put words into his mouth when it quoted him saying, "Wait until the woman finds out that the picture's about her boss." Welles denied the quote emphatically.

> "This is not a misquotation. *Friday's* source invented it. *Citizen Kane* is not about Louella Parson's boss. It is the portrait of a fictional newspaper tycoon, and I have never said or implied to anyone that it is anything else.
>
> *Citizen Kane* is the story of a search by a man named Thompson, the editor of a news digest (similar to the *March of Time*), for the meaning of Kane's dying words. He hopes they'll give the short the angle it needs. He decides that a man's dying words ought to explain his life."[25]

But the damage was done, and Parsons was extremely upset- Welles had completely misled her after she had backed him for months. She demanded and received an immediate, personal showing of the film. On January 9, Parsons viewed the rough cut preview flanked by Oscar Lawler, Hearst corporation official, and A. Laurence Mitchell, Hearst's counsel in Los Angeles.

> "It was a picture lush with the leggy beauty of Publisher Kane's teeming love life, grotesque with his wholesale grabs of Europe's artistic offscourings, memorable for the impressionistic camera work of Photographer Gregg Toland. It was not a picture to be disregarded or forgotten. But it was distinctly non-Hollywood."
>
> "Whether Welles and R.K.O. had a sure-fire office bust or a sensation that would stir up more fun in the next six weeks than Russell Birdwell stirred up for 'Gone with the Wind,' depended in great measure on how wrathfully Columnist Parsons got up from her seat.
>
> She rose like a geyser. As the lights came on, Miss Parsons and lawyers steamed out. Only the chauffeur had enjoyed the picture."[26]

Michael Sage, wrote in his *New Republic* article (February 24), "Miss Parsons and the lawyers sat through the picture in silence and left the RKO projection room without bidding goodbye to Welles."[27]

> "It now develops that there was ample reason for the secrecy. For the film, depicting the life story of a millionaire's son who creates a publishing empire only to see it partially crumble, who attempts unsuccessfully to build a political career, and who, finally embittered, retires to a fantastic Shangri-La upon a man-made mountain, is a biography startlingly parallel to William Randolph Hearst. Furthermore, it seems Hearst was not consulted- either for approval or disapproval."[28]

The Dam Breaks

Michael Sage claimed in *The New Republic* article (February 24) that Hearst ordered all mention of RKO films and players to be kept out of the drama sections of his newspapers before Miss Parsons and the attorneys even saw the picture.[29]

A big, complimentary review of Christopher Morley's *Kitty Foyle,* which RKO made with Ginger Rogers, was already printed in that day's (January 9) first edition of Hearst's *Los Angeles Examiner*, but was yanked from all later editions- as were other short items about RKO productions. Mention of RKO productions were pulled from Hearst papers across the country.

> "Evidence that William Randolph Hearst isn't fooling in his threatened reprisal against RKO for the filming of 'Citizen Kane' was provided here. The Detroit Times, one of the Hearst chain of newspapers, had been running advance exploitation on the serialization of 'Kitty Foyle,' scheduled to start running last week-in the newspaper.
> The exploitation suddenly stopped and the serial failed to show up in the newspaper."[30]

The *New York Times* reported two days later (January 11), "Both the studio and Mr. Hearst's representatives have declined comment… Miss Parsons telephoned George Schaefer, president of RKO in New York, demanding that the picture be withdrawn."[31] According to RKO's secretary notes, Parsons called Schaefer threatening RKO with "one of the most beautiful lawsuits" in history if *Citizen Kane* was released.[32]

> "First result was that no more mention of R.K.O. pictures appeared in Hearst papers in Baltimore, Manhattan, Los Angeles- a free publicity break itself worth several thousand dollars. Next, excited Lolly Parsons phoned R.K.O. Headman Schaefer in Manhattan, appealed to him to stop 'Citizen Kane.' Headman Schaefer could not recall exactly what was in the picture, said he would take another look soon; if there should prove to be anything offensive to Citizen Hearst, 'Citizen Kane' would not be released."[33]

Newsweek (January 20) reported that word quickly got around Hollywood that Hearst had issued an ultimatum: "Not one word about RKO or its productions was to be printed in any Hearst paper until the studio had agreed to shelve the picture entirely."[34] According to *Variety* (January 15), Hearst newspaper emissaries checked with non-Hearst writers of press associations, dailies and magazines to verify the claim that the studio had publicly linked *Kane* and Hearst as the same.[35]

On January 10, one day after the cat was let out of the bag, *Daily Variety's* front-page headline read, "**HEARST BANS RKO FROM PAPERS**." The next day a *New York Times* article headline read, "**HEARST OBJECTS TO WELLES FILM**."

> "It was learned here tonight (January 10), coincident with the request that the $800,000 picture be shelved, that orders have been issued to the heads of all Hearst newspapers barring mention of RKO or its product. The situation is also said to have created a sharp division in the RKO forces."[36]

Variety (February 26) implies that the Associated Press and the United Press did not carry stories about a boycott and threatened suit because Hearst is a member of the AP and a profitable client of the UP. The article also stated that *PM* first characterized the story as a "publicity stunt," but later admitted Hearst's antipathy was real.[37]

Despite facing a Hearst boycott, losing an $800,000 investment and/or possibly a lawsuit, Welles announced immediately that he would rather "see *Citizen Kane* die unopened in a can-- than see his great friend, George Schaefer, in dutch."[38] Whether this statement was true or just a clever attempt to strengthen the bond with his most powerful ally-- would be tested in the upcoming months.

Regardless, Orson Welles, George Schaefer and RKO quickly banded together to face the Hearst threat. Welles insisted that his film was not a biography in any way:

> "It is not based upon the life of Mr. Hearst or any one else. On the other hand, had Mr. Hearst and similar financial barons not lived during the period, we discuss 'Citizen Kane' could not have been made."[39]

Welles announced that Schaefer had assured him RKO would not abandon *Citizen Kane*. But the *New York Times* mentioned that other executives would need to be contacted such as David Sarnoff of RCA and Floyd Odium of Atlas Corporation, both of whom had heavy interests in RKO stock.

> "Suppression of the motion-picture 'Citizen Kane,' Orson Welles' first film venture, has been demanded of RKO Radio Pictures, Inc., by representatives of William Randolph Hearst the publisher."
>
> "George J. Schaefer, president of RKO-Radio Pictures, said last night that his company has given 'no serious consideration' to the thought of withholding 'Citizen Kane'' from release."[40]

In the January 15 issue of *Variety*, Joseph Nolan, RKO's vice president of studio operations, declared personally that he could see no reason for tossing the $800,000 investment into the ashcan. He acknowledged that he couldn't speak for RKO's higher-ups, but came back to assert that *Citizen Kane* would be released for a world premier in New York, February 14, as originally planned, possibly at the Radio City Music Hall.[41]

Furthermore, the *Variety* article said it was unlikely that RKO would pull its advertising from the Hearst press in an attempt at retribution. S. Barret McCormick, RKO's advertising and publicity director, announced that there hadn't been any thought of withholding advertisements.[42]

"We never fight with newspapers," said Harry Mandel, the pub-ad chief for the RKO theater circuit. "We use the Hearst papers like any others because our ads in them bring in customers. Any publicity we get is sugar-coating and lack of it will not cause us to alter our policy."[43]

Initially, things looked optimistic for Welles, Schaefer and RKO.

> "Will Hollywood stand up to William Randolph Hearst over the matter of Orson Welles' film, 'Citizen Kane'? RKO, the distributor, announces that it is going ahead with plans to show the picture. It has been booked into the number-one movie house of the nation, the Radio City Music Hall in New York City, and many other places. But films are so notoriously timid when confronted by the power of a journalistic overlord like Hearst that many people find it hard to believe the producers really intend to defy the lord of San Simeon."[44]

The First Wave Strikes

The Hearst attack had not yet even begun; the publisher's strong influence would prove to be far-reaching. Two days after the story broke, William Wilkerson, the publisher of *The Hollywood Reporter*, attacked Schaefer in a front-page editorial for allowing Welles to make *Citizen Kane*. He said it was a mistake allowing one man to write, produce, direct and act in the picture.

The film industry had an almost paranoid fear of being held up to public exposure and on January 15 Hollywood trembled when *Variety* ran the headline "**All Film Cos. May Suffer Because of Hearst's Peeve at Welles' 'Kane'**." The article announced that the Hearst papers would open an editorial attack upon the entire motion picture industry unless the film was censored or suppressed.

> "Steady bombardment from the heaviest editorial artillery in the Hearst press is faced by the entire film industry as a result of the fury into which William Randolph Hearst has been thrown by the revelation that the story of 'Citizen Kane,' Orson Welles' first film, bears similarity to the life of the publisher."[45]

The article explained that the threat against the industry would focus on the "widescale employment of foreigners in picture production to the exclusion of idle Americans." In addition, his papers would take pot shots against all censorious situations or material in films.[46]

According to the *New Republic* (February 24), of more concern than the illegal alien employment issue or the alleged inclusion of risqué lines and scenes was the threat to reveal the private lives and business affairs of certain film magnates.

> "Hearst papers, it was feared, might carry full accounts of the forthcoming trial of Joseph M. Schenck, president of Twentieth Century-Fox, in New York on income-tax charges, and any similar stories of Hollywood or Wall Street they could get hold of."[47]

Meanwhile, Hearst's ban on RKO pictures waged on. *Variety* (February 12) covered the *Milwaukee Sentinel's* policy, "When 'Kitty Foyle' was brought into the Warner theater for its first downtown run, it was thought the bars might be let down for at least a perfunctory review, or possibly an adverse one, but not a line was permitted to appear." The article continued, "In the newspaper's general gossip columns from Hollywood columnists, all reference to RKO is carefully deleted."[48] And the ban was having a definite effect on independent theaters and their box office receipts.

> "Hearst embargo on RKO over the 'Citizen Kane' incident delivered a hard blow to RKO's Golden Gate here. House (a San Francisco theater) had just planted a full-page layout on 'Kitty Foyle' in the Call-Bulletin, which was suddenly cancelled.
>
> With two of the four local dailies Hearst sheets, dropping of all reference to RKO product is tough on the Gate, playing RKO exclusively, although it still gets mention of its stage shows."[49]

These attacks, coming at Welles from multiple angles, baffled the young man. According to *Newsweek* (January 20), "It looks like my throat has been cut."[50]

> "All kinds of rumors and counter-rumors are flying about town: First-that the RKO studio will be ignored editorially by all of his papers. (That is being done.) Next, that the refugee situation will be looked into. Nor are the private lives to be overlooked.
>
> Mind you, I say these are rumors, but they've become so frightening that I understand yesterday (January 20) most of the leading producers asked to see the picture. It's now become an industry affair and will be dealt with accordingly. Whichever way it goes, it's the biggest story that's broken in this little old town in many a day. And before it's over, there'll be a lot of heads that formerly were accustomed to satin pillows reposing in baskets.
>
> It's fun to watch, on the sidelines. I'm doubting if the picture will ever be released."[51]

Standing Their Ground

Citizen Kane revolves around the lonely, dying words of Charles Foster Kane, a powerful newspaper publisher who built his empire after a failed political career. The death of Kane is believed to be one of the main reasons for Hearst's ire against the picture.

> "Death is a word never uttered in Hearst's presence. On his San Simeon and Wynston estates it belongs to a foreign language. The death of 'Citizen Kane' is understood to be one of the cogent reasons for the publisher's attitude against the picture."[52]

The biggest obstacle for RKO to overcome was Hearst's threat of a lawsuit. Parsons gave word to *Variety* (January 15) that Hearst would go ahead with the threatened lawsuit for an injunction to restrain RKO from releasing *Kane*. "Valhallan silence gripped the crags of San Simeon," reported *Time*. "For Publisher Hearst's dilemma, if he insisted on publicly pointing out the similarities between himself and Citizen Kane, was acute."[53]

According to the *Newsweek* article on September 16, 1940, a copy of the *Citizen Kane* script had been sent to Hearst and he had "approved it without comment."[54] Film historian Robert Carringer questioned the accuracy of this article's comment, believing it could be traced back to when *Kane's* co-writer, Herman Mankiewicz, gave the script to screenwriter Charles Lederer, the nephew of Hearst's lover, Marion Davies. Apparently, Mankiewicz gave Lederer his copy thinking that he would show it to Davies.

> "Lederer says he read the script but emphatically denies passing it on to either Davies or Hearst. When Lederer returned the script, Mankiewicz somehow got the impression that the annotations drawing parallels with Hearst had originated in Hearst's camp and put out this word. A three-by-five-inch card appended to a photocopy of this script in the Theater Arts Library at UCLA gives the story as it has passed down through the Mankiewicz family: 'Marginal notes are those of the attorneys for William Randolph Hearst as they contemplated a lawsuit.'"[55]

With Hearst having already declared war, it would have been pointless for RKO or Welles to try to sound out Hearst on this. There was brief mention in *Time* (January 27) that Welles would give Hearst a private preview to make necessary adjustments.[56]

> "Reports on the Coast that a rap-prochment had been reached between Welles and Hearst and that the film would be shown at San Simeon for the publisher to make desired cuts were heatedly denied in New York. Welles' and RKO's entire legal stand, it was pointed out, is based on the insistence that the picture is not about Hearst. To show it to him for editing would completely upset that position."[57]

Instead, although Schaefer's lawyers had already cleared the script once, Mendel Silberberg, one of Hollywood's leading attorneys, and RKO's New York legal team screened the film again and reassured Schaefer that Hearst had no case.

On January 21, RKO officially stood its ground for the first time. The studio declared the film, which Welles had just finished editing, would premier as originally scheduled on February 13.

> "RKO last week openly flaunted William Randolph Hearst. At the same time it assured the film industry that it has no intention of withholding Orson Welles' 'Citizen Kane' despite the publisher's demand to do so.
>
> Studio, which has never taken any official cognizance of Hearst's ire or threats, has announced for the film a national advertising campaign that will be 'one of the most far-reaching ever launched for an attraction by RKO Radio Pictures.'"[58]

McCormick, RKO's pub-ad head, said that *Kane* would be ushered in with full-page, two-color copy in nationally circulated magazines such as *Life*, *Look* and *Satevepost*; not to mention *Good Housekeeping*, which was a Hearst publication.[59]

On the West Coast, Welles prepared a free 15-minute transcription for radio stations and, according to *Variety*, a life story of the young man, written by Adele Rogers St. John, was scheduled to be published in Hearst's *American Weekly* on January 26.[60]

Hearst seemed in lighter spirits at a luncheon with The Authors Club on January 27. The publisher was to have said, "When I get *Citizen Kane* off my mind, I'm going to work on an idea for a great picture based on the life of William Randolph Hearst."[61]

Meanwhile, Louella Parsons continued waging a one-person campaign to intimidate Hollywood executives by telephone. Apparently, Parsons warned Louis B. Mayer, the MGM head of production and an old friend of Hearst, that if *Kane* was released severe repercussions would follow.

> "Mr. Mayer was warned that the release of *Kane* would mean a good, old-fashioned Hearstian attack on Hollywood- lots of stories on the intimate facts of the intimate lives of the movie colony. Hearst's gossip-dishing Adela Rogers St. Johns was placed on the firing line.
>
> Louis Mayer gathered his forces and worked fast."[62]

The intimidation tactics worked. Mayer sent Nicholas Schenck, the chairman of the board of Loew's International (MGM's distribution arm), a cash offer of $842,000 if Schaefer would destroy the negative and all the prints. The offer, a collection from the industry's top executives, included almost $200,000 for post-production costs (the picture itself cost only $686,033). Without meeting with his board of directors, Schaefer refused the offer, later saying he had good reason to believe they'd tell him to accept the offer.[63]

Variety reported that Orson Welles and publicity chief Herbert Drake left for New York on January 29 to meet with Schaefer and other RKO execs to determine the future of *Citizen Kane*. According to the article, Drake took with him plenty of evidence of "vast public attention drawn to the picture."[64]

Apparently this meeting, which was held on January 31, was the second of two which included private screenings of the film. The first was with W.G. Van Schmus, managing director of the Radio City Music Hall. Although Van Schmus was apparently enthusiastic about *Kane*, no deal was set for an opening date.

Screenings with various attorneys came to the conclusion that there was nothing in *Kane* which would warrant court action. Welles and RKO execs, as well as the New York corporate who had made the offer to buy the film, and their lawyers attended the second meeting.

> "Welles is said to have continued to deny to the RKO board and execs that 'Kane' is Hearst and pointed out more dissimilarities than similarities. He even claims that the film carries its own denial in that it actually mentions Hearst in dialog something like this: 'Who is this man Kane? He is a great yellow journalist like Munsey, Hearst and Pulitzer.'"[65]

Robert Wise, *Kane's* editor, who went along to handle technical details of the screening, says that Welles made an absolutely brilliant and compelling presentation on why the film had to be released. The speech most likely challenged the RKO board members to uphold the First Amendment by fighting Hearst's attempts to suppress *Kane*.

"Shortly after," according to Carringer, "word was passed that there would be no objection to the release as long as certain changes were made. Wise says that these changes were all minor and involved softening up specific references that might have been offensive to Hearst and that Welles assented to them." Apparently there is no surviving record of these changes, which Wise reedited in New York and then telephoned back to Mark Robsin, his assistant in New York.[66]

Furthermore, the ban on RKO's other pictures was removed. Reviews of RKO's *Playgirl* and *Saint in Palm Springs* appeared in Hearst's *New York Mirror* on January 31.

In a *Variety* article (February 19) "Official word from San Simeon to Hearst editors on handling of RKO… is that all its pictures- except *Kane*- are to be reviewed and given publicity as usual."[67] The ban was lifted after only two weeks most likely because a court case against Hearst would draw more attention to the film and make people sympathize with Welles.

> "The ban on RKO publicity in this burg (Seattle), on the part of Hearst's rag, the Post-Intelligencer, lasted just two weeks, and then was lifted without explanation…
> The theaters reciprocated in-kind by cutting down space used in ads for RKO pix. Anyhow its back to normalcy now for RKO stuff in the P.I."[68]

Not that the ban had much of an impact in Seattle, where *Variety* (February 5) reported that "'Kitty Foyle' was getting toward a big gross ($8,000)."[69] In fact, *Variety* (February 5) reported the *Mirror* to have been soliciting RKO for a color advertisement for *Citizen Kane*. "Nevertheless," the article went on, "Hearst's *Cosmopolitan* mag turned down a page ad for the picture in its March issue. 'Too full to take any more advertising' was the explanation."[70]

Regardless, editorials across the country began to back RKO and the tide in general seemed to be shifting in Welles' favor. The *New Republic* proclaimed, "We hope RKO-Radio will have courage enough to stand up to Mr. Hearst and end the intimidation of all the Hollywood studios by his newspapers."[71]

> "Welles did no boot-licking. He defied the Hollywood caste system, ate with his aides and even was seen publicly with people who made less than $1,000 a week. Instead of casting shopworn stars he brought his Mercury Players out from New York for the picture. Now, in certain quarters, he is the greatest villain in Hollywood. Instead of praising him for his forthright determination to make an interesting character study, even if it did offend Hearst, instead of condemning the effrontery of anyone who tries to suppress a creative work, some leaders of the industry say privately that Orson Welles must be stopped. Whether they join hands with William Randolph Hearst to do the job remains to be seen."[72]

The Next Wave Strikes

Although the major issues of Hearst's lawsuit and the ban on other RKO productions had been settled, the trouble was far from over. Hearst's major weapon was still his smear campaign against Orson Welles, members of RKO's board and the executives of other major companies. According to *Variety* (February 5), Louella Parsons is said to have been "so busy on the telephone during the past three weeks she hasn't even had time to write her column."[73]

> "Producer-director-writer Welles, who has been branded 'Communist' in some Hollywood quarters because of his apparent lack of interest in money, isn't thinking of coin in this case either. Rather he 'feels that his honor is at stake,' since this is his first film and it follows months of disparaging cracks about his inactivity in Hollywood."[74]

On February 1, Louis B. Mayer, the Metro chieftain who originally brought the offer to buy *Kane* from RKO, and Samuel Goldwyn were reported in *Variety* (February 5) to have called Hedda Hopper, telling her not to carry on with plans to publish a six-part story of Welles' life. Hopper, a friend of Welles', reportedly told the young filmmaker about the call and began the serial February 3, as scheduled.[75]

Others reported by *Variety* to have been called by Parsons were David Sarnoff, president of RCA, chairman of the board at NBC and a former chairman of the RKO board, Joseph Schenck, 20th Century Fox president and the Rockefellers.[76]

By now, *Citizen Kane's* opening date had been set back from the original date of February 14 to somewhere around February 27. This was due to many theaters and major circuits' reluctance to show it. The Radio City Music Hall would not book a Broadway opening until at least the end of March, if at all. Schaefer said later in "Raising Kane," Nelson Rockefeller decided not to open *Kane* at the Music Hall because of an implied threat by Parsons that a defamatory story on Rockefeller's grandfather was a possible consequence.[77] Parsons had asked him, "How would you like to have the *American Weekly* magazine section run a double-page spread on John D. Rockefeller?"[78]

This pressure was felt throughout the country as other exhibitors also declined to show the film. During the first week of February, the film was, for the first time, considered as being roadshown.

At this time, Welles had grown impatient and began to consider taking legal action against RKO to force the studio to distribute the picture as stated in his contract. According to *Variety* (February 5), Welles, who had a 25% interest in *Kane's* net profit, was advised by his own attorneys that he had legal ground requiring the distribution no matter what the decision of RKO's executives or board of directors.[79] Welles was torn between his friendship with (and faith in) Schaefer and the worry in the back of his mind that Schaefer was stalling.

RKO hadn't indicated publicly that it wouldn't release the film, and, in fact, *Variety's* article stated that McCormick, on February 4, declared that the picture would be distributed around February 28 and plans for advertising were going forward as originally indicated.[80] About $40,000 had already been invested into magazine advertisements, which, by then, would have been too late to cancel.

> "National magazine ads are due to break on 'Kane' around February 20, so it becomes imperative that the film be released shortly after that time. Picture has already obtained much good word of mouth from those who have seen it and RKO is looking forward to strong (box office) if the head-aches don't grow too big."[81]

Variety declared, however, "Welles' precaution was taken, in the knowledge of the tremendous pressure being put on RKO and its individual execs and board members by many high-placed members of the industry."[82] The pressure had created a rift between the board of directors at RKO over the film.

> "Prex George J. Schaefer, backed by one group, has been adamant that Welles' initial celluloid entry be released, while another clique is definitely against it. It can be safely said that the wrangling in high places was powerful and furious prior to Schaefer's departure by plane for the Coast on Monday (February 10) night."[83]

Welles seems to have supported a roadshow opening. According to *Life* (May 26), "he talked seriously of road-showing the film himself, with the added attraction of a Welles personal appearance and magic act to draw customers in."[84] By February 11, no theater had been set and the movie release chart issued that day advised branches not to take a *Kane* date because the picture may be roadshown.

Another idea was to pre-test *Kane* by letting it go into a general release. This would not to test the film's drawing power, but to test Hearst's reaction.

The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (commonly called the "Hayes office"), which was supposed to protect the interests of picture studios, issued a statement that it would observe a hands-off policy in the *Citizen Kane* controversy. *Variety* first reported (January 22) that the "Hays office attitude is that it has no control over such a situation beyond that of the Production Code Administration and no code violation has been reported on the picture, according to information in New York."[85]

> "The neutral position of the Hays office, which is supposed to defend the interests of RKO as well as those of other companies, is reminiscent of the sterling fortitude displayed by the late Neville Chamberlain when Hitler trampled Czecho-Slovakia. There also seems to be no inclination in these circles to condemn Hearst or his lieutenants for their threat to free speech and freedom of the screen."[86]

Meanwhile, RKO reported that the possibility *Kane* could be roadshown was delaying opening. *Variety* (February 19) reported that "there's dissension with the company on the course to be taken." The article also stated if the film continues to be held up, the $40,000 invested in national magazine advertising (placed weeks ago to coincide with *Kane's* initial-postponed date of February 28) would become valueless. RKO had full-page ads coming up in *Look* (February 25), *Time* and *Newsweek* (February 27), *Collier's* and *Life* (February 28), and the *Saturday Evening Post* (March 5).[87]

After weeks of threats, on February 16, using the front pages of major papers across the country, Hearst finally followed through by showcasing his real influence as one of the world's most powerful publishing titans.

> "William Randolph Hearst got his first real opportunity last week since his burn at RKO to show how he feels about the company- and stuck the knife in deep. Both the studio and George J. Schaefer, its president, were lambasted mercilessly on front pages of Hearst papers from coast to coast."[88]

The case was a remote suit filed against Schaefer and RKO that most newspapers would never have mentioned. According to *Variety* (February 19), Joseph N. Ermolieff, a European producer, sued Schaefer and RKO for a breach of a producing contract from over two years ago, which called for Ermolieff to produce his play, "I Solemnly Swear."[89]

U.S. District Judge J.F.T. O'Connor eliminated Schaefer from the $7,000 decision against RKO. Almost all of Hearst's seventeen daily newspapers from California to New York committed major headlines and columns of space, heavily emphasizing George J. Schaefer as a co-defendant. Again, most newspapers would not have carried it- "even the trade papers relegated it to inside pages," said a *Variety* article.[90]

> "In Milwaukee, for instance, Hearst's Sentinel put the story on page one with a display head reading: 'Charges That RKO Broke Contract.' Story laid great stress upon Ermolieff's importance and fame as a producer and gives his allegation (he sued for $1,042,000) much space. Yarn, in early edition of the Los Angeles (Hearst) Herald-Examiner carried a seven-column head."[91]

In Hearst's *New York Mirror*, film critic Lee Mortimer committed his whole column to blasting Hollywood corporations for taking advantage of the unsuspecting and innocent, basing the accusations on the Ermolieff case.

> "Head on Mortimer's pillar was 'Hollywood Runaround Lashed in Verdict Against RKO.' Writer then gave two cases (without names, places or dates), one of an agent, one of a 'pretty girl,' who went to Hollywood and didn't get what they expected because they got the 'Hollywood Runaround.' Meaning of the latter term was not explained.
>
> Finally, Mortimer got around to the RKO case, citing it as 'some of the practices that illustrate the Hollywood Runaround.' Paragraph of the plea of Ermolieff's attorney was quoted in which he claimed his client was taken advantage of 'by a great corporation' because he didn't understand the English language."[92]

In addition, Hearst papers continued their ban on any mention of *Citizen Kane* and, apparently, Orson Welles himself. Herb Drake sent press notices to all the New York papers about Welles' play-"Native Son," which was set to open in three weeks (on March 17). According to *Variety*, every paper carried the notices except Hearst's *Mirror* and *Journal American*. The papers responded that as far as their drama departments knew, there was no ban on Welles personally and that they had not mentioned "Native Son" because other dailies had carried mention earlier in the week. At that point, Drake's policy was reported as being "no mentions- no advertising." There never was any mention of the play. [93]

> "Perched in his San Simeon splendor, Mr. Hearst was supposed to be hopping mad. This young Orson Welles had made for RKO an insulting movie about his life called 'Citizen Kane.' Led by his official ministress to the movie capital, Columnist Lolly Parsons, many a Hearst favor-seeker sent word to The Chief that they could fix everything. Soon the machinery of Hollywood pressure began to throttle 'Citizen Kane.'"[94]

The Days After the Flood

Two days before the updated release date for *Citizen Kane* (February 28), *Variety* (February 26) reported that RKO had not yet scheduled a single playdate, roadshow or otherwise, for the film. Schaefer spent the previous weekend (arriving February 21 and leaving February 24) discussing *Kane* with the company's board members and other executives. According to the article, Schaefer said on Monday, that after he returns from the Coast, developments within the next few days will "probably make it possible to release the picture within two weeks."[95] This would not happen.

Variety's February 19 article reported that there was dissension within the company on the course to be taken. According to "Raising Kane," Schaefer was able to work around the dissension by simply skipping his board of directors on key subjects.[96] For example, when he received the buyout offer from Louis B. Mayer, he simply did not tell the directors because he believed they would advise him to accept the offer.

Despite Schaefer's efforts, on March 11- two weeks after Schaefer said developments will "probably make it possible to release the picture within two weeks,"[97] Welles called a press conference at his New York Ambassador hotel apartment. Welles informed reporters that he would file suit for "breach of contract" against RKO.

According to *Variety*, Arnold Weissberger, Welles' attorney, told the reporters that the "suit is being prepared" and would be filed as quickly as possible.[98] He said the producer's contract with RKO stated that the film must be released within three months of the delivery date, which the article said, was in dispute.

The contract also stated that Welles has the right to take over the film himself if RKO failed to distribute it, and his lawyer said that Welles wanted to and had backing to buy it, but that the company would not sell.

> "Final straw which led to the announcement of the suit was permission granted last weekend to hold a simultaneous press preview of 'Kane' in Hollywood and New York. It was arranged for today (Wednesday, March 12) and lists of critics to be invited were prepared and telegrams written out. Final word of George J. Schaefer, RKO prez, was needed before the wires could be sent, however. He was supposed to give it Monday night, but failed to do so and Welles burned."[99]

Papers began claiming the picture's future "appears bleak," and that RKO planned on giving *Kane* a "brush-off."[100] *Time* reported that "it appeared last week that Hollywood was about to turn upon and destroy its greatest creation."[101]

RKO never gave an official reaction to the suit but Schaefer is said to have called Welles March 15 saying, "I'm coming to New York next week. Don't do anything legal until I arrive. I'll take it up once more with the board of directors when I get there."[102]

Welles seemed to try to stay on good terms with RKO. The same day as the announcement, when asked about his contract to produce two more films, Welles said, "I'll be glad to go ahead with the pictures if it is satisfactory to the company."[103]

The Hollywood and New York preview announcements hinted that *Citizen Kane* would finally be released. A *Variety* article mentioned that "unofficial word" stated that *Kane* would open outside of New York in two-to-three weeks.[104] This information would turn out to be inaccurate as well.

Regardless, Welles would never have to carry through with his legal action. Schaefer flew into New York on March 20 and met with his board members. Afterwards papers began reporting that RKO had committed to the film's release. Interestingly, the president of Atlas Corp., Floyd Odlum, who was said to virtually control the Hearst empire as well as a major factor at RKO, was on vacation and not present at the meeting.

> "While on one hand, Odlum is reported to have the final word on whether 'Kane' is released or not, other sources quote him as saying he has taken no position on it and is leaving everything up to Schaefer."[105]

More attacks followed in April, this time focusing on Welles as being "un-American and subversive." Attacks on Welles and CBS's radio show, *The Free Company*, appeared on front-pages from the Los Angeles *Examiner* to the New York *Journal-American* and in every other Hearst paper between the coasts. For days, pages of unlimited space were devoted to Welles and the Communist angles, but as with the earlier attacks by the Hearst papers on Schaefer, no other papers carried the stories.

> "Burden of the tale told by the Hearstlings, a number of American Legion Posts, several other veterans' societies, as well as the California Sons of the American Revolution, had found subversive propaganda in the broadcasts of CBS's *Free Company*, particularly in a program called *His Honor, the Mayor*, written and directed by Orson Welles."[106]

According to *Time*, Hearst papers stated that "a typical Legion stricture on Welles and *The Free Company* was that of Homer L. Chaillaux, chairman of the Legion's National Americanism Commission: '...cleverly designed to poison the minds of young Americans...'" Hearst's Chicago paper stated that the Legion...

> "called upon all patriotic citizens to join the nationwide fight to rid the airlanes of Welles' program because the program was attempting to make the people of the United States believe this nation is not worth defending."[107]

Another report quoted a Brooklyn Legion spokesman as saying, "The name itself, *Free Company*, sounds suspiciously Communistic…"[108] Coincidentally, Kenneth Hunter, reporter for Hearst's N.Y. Journal-American, was also publicity chief for the Legion.[109]

In addition, Welles was beginning to complain of "mysterious efforts" having been made "to invade his privacy." More specifically, Welles said that journalists, male and female, had solicited his draft board to learn the secrets of his past life, his telephone number and other personal affairs.[110]

> "Welles, resting in Palm Springs, complains he is being harassed by photogs lurking in bushes to catch his personal actions. There's no evidence, that these are Hearst lensers, nor that persistent inquiries made to his draft board about why he is not called to service are Hearst-inspired."[111]

These attacks came around the same time as final arrangements for the release of *Citizen Kane* were being worked out. As he did with the buyout offer, Schaefer again bypassed the board of directors. Schaefer had originally intended for the picture to premier simultaneously in two theatres, one of which would be the RKO Palace on Broadway. The dual opening was abandoned as RKO continued having difficulty booking a second satisfactory house.[112] The first theaters to open *Citizen Kane* in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles would be used as test arenas, as all three had strong Hearst papers. RKO decided it would not release the film in other cities until editorial and legal reactions could be determined.[113]

A report came out in early May indicating that the two-week attack on Welles' *Free Company* radio program had more than doubled its ratings for the series. According to a special Gill survey, the rating went from 2.1 to 4.5 during that period.[114] After Hearst's *Detroit Times* joined the attacks on Welles, locals that hadn't previously heard of *Free Company*, began listening. Said one area reporter, "It's like telling a small boy, who wouldn't have thought of it himself, not to push beans up his nose."[115]

Hearst realized this side effect and the editorial attacks finally stopped, although his papers still would not accept *Kane's* advertising. Executives of his papers engaged in a "superlative buck-passing campaign" when asked for reasons why the ads were refused. For example, Ted Friend, chief of both the editorial and advertising aspects of the N.Y. *Mirror*'s amusement department, on why the ads weren't accepted: "Sunday was a lovely day. I planted 150 rose bushes in my garden."[116]

As with the *Free Company* radio program, the entire controversy had quite a contrary effect to that which Hearst intended. RKO received a constant bombardment of calls from community leaders as to when they could see *Kane*, publicly or privately.[117]

Meanwhile, editors from other papers grew tired of the clearly biased reporting and the lack of journalistic ethics by Hearst's underlings. The *World-Herald*, Omaha's only daily paper, dropped Louella Parson's syndicated Hollywood columns because they didn't carry any mention of RKO pictures or personalities. Keith Wilson, the amusement editor, explained Parson's comments didn't reflect a true coverage of the film front.[118]

Citizen Kane finally opened at the Palace on May 1, 1941, more than 10 weeks after it was originally scheduled to open. The picture opened in Chicago on May 6 and in Los Angeles on May 8. Showmen criticized that the theaters were not originally intended for major openings.[119] In all three cities, RKO had specially refurbished them to do so.

Variety reported that *Kane* was doing well, "although not a smash," during its second week at the Palace in New York. "Same is not true in Los Angeles and Chicago," the article continued. RKO arranged a dual opening for the picture in both cities but box office receipts were very disappointing. Before the opening week's end, *Kane* was pulled from one theatre in each city in hopes that the other theatres' business would improve.[120]

Despite the early buzz and strong reviews, Schaefer had trouble launching an advertising campaign. Apparently, Nicholas Schenck, who originally approached Schaefer to buy the film, owned a piece of the largest movie-advertising agency.[121]

By the end of May, the film opened in Boston, San Francisco and Washington. Apparently, RKO was still having trouble booking theaters to show the picture because as late as May 26, *Life* magazine mentioned that *Citizen Kane* had been released in only seven major cities.[122]

Schaefer believed the company heads at Warners' Brothers, Fox, Paramount, and Loew's International promised Hearst they wouldn't show *Kane*, and as a last resort to get the picture into theaters, threatened to sue. According to Kael, "'Warners' (perhaps afraid of exposure and the troubles with their stockholders that might result from a lawsuit) gave in and booked the picture, and the others followed, halfheartedly.'"[123]

Regardless, the *Life* article about Welles also stated that "wise movie executives concede that, for all its complex story, its lack of conventional romance, its ugly probing into one man's life, 'Citizen Kane' will gross between $2,000,000 and $3,000,000."[124]

During the Fall, the film was shown at regular prices, and earnings in cities and large towns were good. But business was poor in remote locations, because RKO continued to struggle getting chains to show the film. One chain, Fox-West Coast Theatres and its eastern kin chain, National Pictures, was bought and relegated to the shelves in a total of 515 film houses. Fear of legal reprisals by Hearst and opposition by his papers became the chains' explanation.[125] When *Citizen Kane* was sent to the vaults after its play-off in 1942, RKO carried a loss of more than $150,000.[126]

Of course, the reviews were very good. After viewing a preview of Welles' first film, famed director John Ford was to have said, "I have just had a lesson in motion picture making."[127] William Boehnel wrote, "Citizen Kane is a cinema masterpiece… it is staggering and belongs at once among the great screen achievements."[128]

Citizen Kane won best picture of 1941 by the New York Film Critics and the National Board of Review and also received nine major Academy Award nominations for best picture, actor, director, screenplay, cinematography, art direction, sound recording, editing, and music score.

Kane was expected to win screenplay, cinematography and editing easily and Welles was believed to be a good bet for director,[129] but *Kane* and Welles won only one award- best original screenplay, which shared credit with Herman Mankiewicz.

John Ford's *How Green Was My Valley* took home six awards, including best picture, best director and best supporting actor. According to *Variety*, the 6,000 extras voting on best picture and the four actor/actress categories were influenced by *Valley*'s recent release and a "terrific advertising and publicity campaign." Just as likely, the extras didn't like Welles personally and took it out on him at the polls. "The mob prefers a regular guy to a genius."[130]

Although Hearst's ban ended in late July when San Francisco's *Examiner* and *Call-Bulletin* accepted two small ads plugging the vaudeville only,[131] repercussions of the battle lived on even after the release of the film- one of Hearst's best columnists resigned after being blasted by his boss. Leonard Lyons, whose column had been sold to 25 papers, was to be promoted by Hearst's King Features Syndicate.

The promotion included an article by William Saroyan, who said Lyons was "one of the few columns of our time which has both form and style." A statement from Carl Sandburg in Saroyan's article also said, "Imagine how much richer American history would have been, had there been a Leonard Lyons in Lincoln's time."[132]

> "But the fine promotion was never sent out, and last week Columnist Lyons switched syndicates from King Features to McNaught. The trouble originated with Publisher Hearst, summering in northern California. He was getting madder & madder at Lyons. Lyons had made friendly mention no less than 41 times since January 1 of Orson Welles, producer of the movie 'Citizen Kane,' allegedly based on Hearst's strange career. That was tactless at least of Columnist Lyons."[133]

According to *Time*, Hearst wired harsh words to King Features telling them to cut Lyons' column out of all Hearst papers, even though only his *Boston American* and *San Francisco Examiner* had carried it.[134] Lyons had enough and left.

Lyons wasn't the only casualty during the Hearst vs. *Kane* aftermath. According to Schaefer, Louis Mayer, who was still miffed that Schaefer refused his offer to buy *Kane* a year before, began a rumor that RKO wasn't making money because Schaefer was anti-Semitic and therefor couldn't get proper distribution for its pictures. In an attempt to gain control of RKO, Mayer created the rumor to scare out Floyd Odlum, a major stockholder, by driving down the price of RKO stock and then, to buy his stock.

> "Instead, Odlum, who had opposed Nelson Rockefeller's choice of Schaefer to run the company, bought enough of Sarnoff's stock to have a controlling interest, and by mid 1942 Schaefer was finished at RKO. Two weeks after he left, Welles' unit was evicted from its offices on the lot and give a few hours to move out."[135]

Summary

Never before had a man with the power and influence of William Randolph Hearst gone to such extremes to suppress the rights set forth by the first amendment. In one example after another, the journalistic coverage during the first quarter of 1941 details Hearst's attempts to prevent *Citizen Kane*'s release.

Initially, the media tycoon ordered all mention of RKO, its films and players to be kept out of his newspapers until the production company shelved the picture. This ban eventually backfired, as the controversy provided RKO more publicity then it would have ever received through simple advertising. Of more concern for RKO was the threat of a lawsuit for an injunction to restrain the release its picture. This threat, of course, is the ultimate example of Hearst's attempts at gatekeeping. Fortunately, lawyers early on came to the conclusion that the court of law would not back Hearst on this plan.

The real damage was the result of paranoia about the publisher's wrath. Most theaters, major circuits and chains became reluctant to show film in fear of Hearst's legal and editorial reactions. Due to RKO's difficulty in scheduling chains in remote locations, *Kane* had a $150,000 loss by the time it finished its run. In addition, Hearst threatened to publish personal editorial attacks upon the entire motion picture industry unless the film was destroyed. Schaefer and Welles, themselves, were made examples in front-page headlines across the country.

In the end, Orson Welles and Dennis Schaefer stood up and fought for *Citizen Kane*'s release. Almost 60 years later, we can thank those men for not only a brilliant film, but also a shining example of how those in the fight for freedom of expression can overcome one media tycoon's attempts at suppression.

Notes

Introduction

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[3] Robert Carringer, *The Making of Citizen Kane* (Berkley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1985).

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[8] John W. Tebbel, *The Life and Good Times of William Randolph Hearst*, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1952), p. 287.

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The Cracking Dam

[11] "Hearst vs. Orson Welles," *Newsweek*, Jan. 20, 1941, pp. 62, 63.

[12] "Citizen Welles Raises Kane," pp. 69, 70.

[13] "Miscellany," *Newsweek*, Sept. 16, 1940, p. 12.

[14] "Orson Welles Chides Sponsor On Theme Song" & "Welles, His Hands Full, Shifts All Activities West," *Variety*, Dec. 11, 1940.

[15] "Bogeyman Makes a Movie," *Stage*, December 1940, pp. 54, 55.

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[19] "Orson Delivers," *Friday*, Jan. 17, 1941, pp. 24-26.

[20] "'Citizen Kane' is Not About Louella Parson's Boss," *Friday*, Feb. 14, 1941.

[21] "Orson Delivers," pp. 24-16.

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[23] "RKO Pays $160G to forget pic by Welles," *Variety*, Jan. 10, 1940.

[24] "Kane Case," *Time*, March 17, 1941, pp. 90, 92.

[25] "'Citizen Kane' is Not About Louella Parson's Boss."

[26] "Citizen Welles Raises Kane," pp. 69, 70.

[27] Michael Sage, "Hearst Over Hollywood," *The New Republic*, Feb. 24, 1941, pp. 270, 271.

The Dam Breaks

[28] "Hearst vs. Orson Welles," pp. 62, 63.

[29] Sage, pp. 270, 271.

[30] "RKO, Despite Hearst's Ire, Announces Huge National Campaign for 'Kane,'" pp. 3, 63.

[31] "Hearst Objects to Welles Film," *New York Times*, January 11, 1941, p. 3.

[32] Carringer, p. 111.

[33] "Citizen Welles Raises Kane," pp. 69, 70.

[34] "Hearst vs. Orson Welles," pp. 62, 63.

[35] "All Film May Suffer Because of Hearst's Peeve at Welles' 'Kane,'" pp. 1, 55.

[36] "Hearst Objects to Welles Film," p. 3.

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[38] "Citizen Welles Raises Kane," pp. 69, 70.

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[40] Ibid.

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] "RKO, Despite Hearst's Ire, Announces Huge National Campaign for 'Kane,'" pp. 3, 63.

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[45] "All Film May Suffer Because of Hearst's Peeve at Welles' 'Kane,'" pp. 1, 55.

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[47] Sage, pp. 270, 271.

[48] "Milwaukee Ban," *Variety*, Feb. 12, 1941, p. 3.

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[51] Hedda Hopper, "Hedda Hopper's Hollywood," *Des Moines Register*, Jan. 21, 1941.

[52] "All Film May Suffer Because of Hearst's Peeve at Welles' 'Kane,'" pp. 1, 55.

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[56] "Citizen Welles Raises Kane," pp. 69, 70.

[57] "Welles, As 25% Owner of 'Kane', Would 'Force' RKO to Release Pic," *Variety*, Feb. 5, 1941, pp. 4, 18.

[58] "RKO, Despite Hearst's Ire, Announces Huge National Campaign for 'Kane,'" pp. 3, 63.

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[60] "Coast 'Kane' Plans," *Variety*, Jan. 22, 1941, p. 63.

[61] "Twisting the Tail," *Variety*, Jan. 29, 1941, p. 2.

[62] "Kane Continued," *Time*, March 31, 1941, p. 68.

[63] Pauline Kael, "Raising Kane," *The New Yorker*, Feb. 20, 1971, p. 44.

[64] "Welles East to Talk 'Citizen Kane' Future," *Variety*, Jan. 29, 1941, p. 2.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Carringer, pp. 111, 112.

[67] "Hearst Opens Blast on RKO-Schaefer; 'Citizen Kane' Release Still Indef," *Variety*, Feb. 19, 1941, p. 18.

[68] "Seattle Ban Off in One Week," *Variety*, Feb. 26, 1941, p. 3.

[69] "'Kitty,' Sans Hearst Publicity in Seattle, Garners Big $8,000," *Variety*, Feb. 5, 1941.

[70] "Welles, As 25% Owner of 'Kane', Would 'Force' RKO to Release Pic," p. 18.

[71] "Mr. Hearst Can't Take It," *The New Republic*, Jan. 20, 1941.

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[72] "Hearst Over Hollywood," *The New Republic*, Feb. 24, 1941.

[73] "Welles, As 25% Owner of 'Kane', Would 'Force' RKO to Release Pic," p. 18.

[74] "Welles, As 25% Owner of 'Kane', Would 'Force' RKO to Release Pic," p. 4.

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Kael, "Raising Kane."

[78] Kael, "Raising Kane," p. 44.

[79] "Welles, As 25% Owner of 'Kane', Would 'Force' RKO to Release Pic," p. 4.

[80] Ibid.

[81] "Decide Future of Welles' Pic by this Week," *Variety*, Feb. 12, 1941.

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[84] "Orson Welles- Once a Child Prodigy, He Has Never Quite Grown Up," *Life*, May 26, 1941.

[85] "RKO, Despite Hearst's Ire, Announces Huge National Campaign for 'Kane,'" p. 63.

The Next Wave Strikes

[86] "Hearst Over Hollywood."

[87] "Hearst Opens Blast on RKO-Schaefer; 'Citizen Kane' Release Still Indef," p. 18.

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[90] Ibid.
[91] "Hearst Opens Blast on RKO-Schaefer; 'Citizen Kane' Release Still Indef," p. 18.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.

The Days After the Flood

[94] "Kane Continued,"p. 68.
[95] "'Citizen Kane' Release Date Not Yet Set," p. 3.
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[97] "'Citizen Kane' Release Date Not Yet Set," p. 3.
[98] "Welles Suing RKO on 'Citizen Kane' In Effort to Force Pic's Release," *Variety*, March 12, 1941, p. 3.
[99] Ibid.
[100] "Welles' Threat to Raise 'Kane' Puts Him in Spot Between Odlum-Schaefer," *Variety*, March 19, 1941, p. 7.
[101] "Kane Case," p. 90.
[102] "Welles' Threat to Raise 'Kane' Puts Him in Spot Between Odlum-Schaefer," p. 7.
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[107] "Chi Goes to Town," *Variety*, April 23, 1941.
[108] "Welles Suing RKO on 'Citizen Kane' In Effort to Force Pic's Release," p. 3.
[109] "Hearst Papers' Anti-'Citizen Kane' Gripe Takes It Out on Welles-CBS," *Variety*, April 16, 1941, p. 3.
[110] "Welles' Suspicion," *Variety*, April 16, 1941, p. 52.
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[112] "'Kane' at Palace, N.Y.," *Variety*, April 16, 1941, p. 52.
[113] "RKO's Watchful Waiting on Hearst Papers' Further Reaction to 'Kane,'" *Variety*, May 7, 1941.
[114] "Hearst's Anti-Welles Drive Upped Air Show," *Variety*, May 14, 1941, p. 4.
[115] "No Detroit Complaints," *Variety*, April 23, 1941, p. 25.
[116] "Add: Hearst vs. Kane ('Citizen Kane'), More Newspaper Attacks."
[117] "'Local' angles in Wisc.," *Variety*, April 23, 1941.
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[119] "'Kane' 2-A-Day Disappointing," *Variety*, May 4, 1941, p. 4.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Kael, "Raising Kane," p. 45.
[122] "Orson Welles- Once a Child Prodigy, He Has Never Quite Grown Up."
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[124] Ibid.
[125] "F-WC Gets 'Kane' in Block Buy, Then Shelves It; Hearst Ire Feared," *Variety*, Sept. 3, 1941, p. 3.
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[127] William Boehnel, "Orson Welles' First Picture Makes Hollywood Eat Crow," *New York World-Telegram*, May 3, 1941, p. 5.
[128] William Boehnel, "Orson Welles' Citizen Kane Is a Masterpiece of the Cinema," *New York World-Telegram*, May 2, 1941, p. 22.
[129] "Welles and 'Kane' Doped to Win Flock of Oscars Next Week, But 'Valley' And 'York' (Cooper) Hot Faves Also," *Variety*, Feb. 18, 1942, p. 4.
[130] "Orson Welles' Near-Washout Rated Biggest Upset in Academy Stakes; 'Valley', Cooper, Fontaine, Ford Cop," and "Extras Scuttled Welles; Ad Splash Big Aid to 'Valley,'" *Variety*, March 4, 1942, p. 4.
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From "True Temperance" to the *Tatler*

Advertising messages of Anheuser-Busch in the early years of Prohibition

Margot Opdycke Lamme
College of Communication and Information Sciences
The University of Alabama
P.O. Box 861437
Tuscaloosa, AL 35486-0013
Phone: 205-347-3787
Email: meglamme@aol.com

Presented to the History Division
of the Association for Education in Journalism & Mass Communication
Washington, D.C., August 2001

The author wishes to thank William J. Vollmar, Ph.D., Mary Louise Brown, Lynn Fendler, and Tracy Anderson at Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc. for providing access to the Tatler *and to the copyrighted images reproduced in this research.*

Abstract

From 1919 through 1924, St. Louis-based brewer Anheuser-Busch published a monthly sales promotion magazine for its field agents called, initially, the *Bevo Tatler*, then the *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*. Through this magazine the company provided consistency between its advertising messages and those delivered to its consumers by *Tatler* readers. It did so largely by relying on the brand image it had nurtured in the fifty years before Prohibition became law in 1920.

The purpose of this paper is to examine these messages in the context of the company's pre-Prohibition advertising tradition. Particular emphasis is placed on the *Tatler* issues published between 1919 and 1922, when the company's losses dropped from $2.5 million to $250,000—two years into Prohibition. The author concludes that the *Tatler* served as a transition piece, linking Anheuser-Busch's pre-Prohibition messages with some of its Prohibition products, while cultivating ideas that later grew into elements of the company's marketing mix.

From "True Temperance" to the *Tatler*

Advertising messages of Anheuser-Busch in the early years of Prohibition

Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc. is an international concern that has been headquartered in St. Louis, Missouri, since its founding in 1860 and managed continuously by the same family ever since. Today, Budweiser beer, the company's flagship product for the past 120 years, is associated with images of baseball, football, stock cars, and Clydesdales horses, to name a few.[1] But this is a far cry from one hundred years ago, when the company sought to pair Budweiser with temperance and the home, and a farther cry still from eighty years ago, when it had to reinvent itself and its product line to stay afloat during the years of Prohibition, 1920 to 1933.

As early as 1917, in anticipation of the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment, which prohibited the manufacture, transport, or sale of intoxicating liquors, the company already had begun laying off employees, providing early retirement to others, and cutting back on investments and donations as well as on advertising.[2] The purpose of this paper, then, is to determine how Anheuser-Busch combined business and communication strategies to survive in an era in which its primary products were illegal. Specifically, it explores how the company used a sales magazine called, at first, the *Bevo Tatler*, then later, the *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, to promote its new products directly to its field agents (the distributors and dealers) and, through them, to its newly expanded consumer market—former beer drinkers as well as new customers who might never have touched a drop.

The *Tatler* was published between 1919 and 1924. Because the company reported that it has few records documenting its advertising strategies during this time, the magazine is a valuable resource for learning about the advertisements it did place and about how it maintained consistency between those messages and the ones conveyed to consumers via the *Tatler* readers.[3]

Additionally, it demonstrates how Anheuser-Busch tapped the benefits of the brand image and equity it had cultivated in the previous fifty years to promote its new, non-alcoholic beverages.

Some historians have dismissed the Prohibition era as a reform movement born of "mere peevishness" or a " group of hard-boiled fanatics."[4] In the case of Anheuser-Busch, however, Prohibition served as a catalyst for a diversified business strategy that continues today. By examining the *Tatler*, it is possible to see how a comparatively small communication piece helped to promote and reinforce that strategy through its advertising messages.

From 1919 until the middle of 1922, the magazine's primary themes seem to have been designed to counter the association that the Prohibition Movement had created between breweries and the worst of the foulest saloons and, possibly, to appeal to a new kind of consumer for the company, women shopping for their families. Thus, great emphasis was placed on sanitary manufacturing, purity of ingredients, quality products, and higher prices that reflected quality and care. These issues of the *Tatler* consisted mainly of motivational pieces, tips and techniques, and product information that dealers could pass on to their customers. They also included a number of items describing the extent to which the company supported its distributors and dealers through advertising as well as through its sharing of effective sales ideas and opportunities offered by other field agents. Finally, although there was a theme of democratic values that wove in and out of the copy, one thing that did not appear in these early issues of the *Tatler* were articles that spoke out against Prohibition; in fact, it was barely mentioned at all.

In mid-1922, however, three circumstances combined to alter the tone of the *Tatler*. First, Anheuser-Busch found itself on firmer financial ground than it had been in years with a decline in losses from almost $2.5 million in 1919 to less than $250,000 by the end of 1922.[5] Second, the company president at this time, August A. Busch, learned that alcohol was being served on U.S.

passenger ships and prompted a federal case that resulted in banning drinking at sea.[6] Third, sales of Bevo, a non-alcoholic cereal drink, and of Budweiser near beer were plummeting as a likely result of the abundance of homebrew and bootlegging.[7] In these later issues of the *Tatler*, then, reprints from newspaper articles, editorials, and cartoons attacking Prohibition and calling for changes in legislation usurped space that had been used for promotional copy. Although the magazine continued to serve as a sales promotion tool, its motivational optimism turned to cynicism, and it eventually ceased publication in 1924.

Because of the *Tatler's* change in focus, then, this paper concentrates on its first three years, when it was dedicated solely to sales and promotion. First, though, a brief overview of Anheuser-Busch's promotional tradition is provided as context for those efforts.

Lager beer and pocket knives

When Eberhard Anheuser took possession of The Bavarian Brewery in 1860, he became the fourth owner in the St. Louis company's eight-year history. His strategy was to target the smaller areas of the market not already occupied by the city's major brewers.[8] Because he was already a partner in a soap manufacturing company, however, he hired his son-in-law, Adolphus Busch, in 1864 to supervise the brewery and its sales operations. At this point, the brewery was not known for its beer; in fact, a testimonial to Busch's salesmanship lay in his ability to sell the company's beer, a product "so inferior that St. Louis rowdies were known to project mouthfuls of it back over the bar."[9]

Anheuser-Busch, or E. Anheuser & Co., as it was known then, did not advertise a great deal in newspapers, but the company did benefit from their customers' ads. For instance, in the October 25, 1865, edition of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, a German newspaper in St. Louis, new proprietor August Korn placed the following:

> Korn's Beer-Salon
> (formerly "At the Beer Mug")
> The undersigned allows himself herewith to advertise the following, that he has taken over the beerhall once operated by Hipps', later by Herr Frank Schmidt at South 2. Street No. 11 and intends to carry on in the usual manner. Annhauser's [sic] best Beer fresh four times daily from the cellar![10]

For the most part, Busch relied on word-of-mouth and personal contacts to make sales, so he preferred using promotional items that his agents could leave with a client or prospective customer at the end of a sales call, such as souvenirs, pamphlets, and window displays.[11] This emphasis on personal contact was true even after the company took Budweiser national.

The 1870s brought two innovations that made the idea of a national beer brand possible: artificial refrigeration and pasteurization. The former allowed for the expansion of beer shipments over greater distances and different climates and the latter provided a longer shelf life without sacrificing the flavor and carbonation unique to lager beer. With Budweiser, then, Busch not only could store beer for an indefinite time period, but he could ship it in refrigerated railcars for delivery throughout the country. Thus, he left St. Louis in the early 1880s to build a U.S. market for Budweiser by applying his personal sales approach on a national scale. He traveled from city to city, entertained "lavishly," took orders, and then left his agents in those cities to fulfill them.[12] In turn, the agents would give these clients any of an assortment of promotional pieces which often featured the company's "A & Eagle" trademark logo, such as paper weights, lighters, watch fobs, cufflinks, stick pins, pendants, playing cards, bottle openers, corkscrews, calendars, match boxes, postcards, and "showcards," which promoted the beer supplier to the bar's patrons.[13]

One of the most distinctive of these pieces was the Anheuser-Busch pocket knife, which was commissioned in at least forty-seven different versions between the early 1880s and up to Prohibition. The handles were of silver, brass, or enamel. For women, the tools included a small knife, a toothpick, and a pair of scissors. For men, they included two blades and a corkscrew, designed to open bottles of corked beer. Regardless of the particular design, however, each knife featured a peephole through which the recipient could view a portrait of Adolphus Busch.[14]

Another signature Anheuser-Busch promotional piece was a color lithograph titled "Custer's Last Fight." The original work had been commissioned as a diorama in 1884, eight years after the Battle at Little Bighorn. It was eventually sold to a saloon of which Busch received a portion in debt obligations in 1888. Seven years later, Busch commissioned a Milwaukee firm to remake the painting into a print and then reproduced copies for the saloons, bars, and restaurants that sold Anheuser-Busch beers.[15] In a similar vein, Busch commissioned a local artist to create a series of oils "depicting the romantic growth and expansion of the United States"; this resulted in forty-five such scenes produced and distributed as posters between 1910 and 1915.[16]

The motivation behind these promotional efforts was the saloon system. Up until Prohibition, breweries owned many of the saloons that served their products. Once he paid the initial license fees, a saloon-keeper would find a brewer who would provide his financial backing as well as his location. In turn, the brewer would pay the rent, supply the fixtures, provide the often generous, albeit salty, lunch spreads that many saloons provided free to their patrons, and sell the beer with a tax tacked on to the normal barrel price, essentially transforming the saloon-keeper into his on-sight manager.[17] Saloons were a competitive business for brewers; in St. Louis, alone, 65 percent were owned by a brewery.[18] They ranged from small and dirty dives to converted older homes with orchestras and mahogany bars to suburban beer gardens with good food and open spaces.[19] Mostly, though, they tended to be small, local establishments, serving as neighborhood centers and as "transmitter[s] of working-class and immigrant cultures."[20]

This neighborhood orientation not only fit well with Adolphus Busch's personal sales approach, but it also made possible the success of the beer industry's collector system. Beer collectors were brewery agents who were paid to visit the saloons that served their beers and to buy rounds for the customers in proportion to the saloon's sales.[21] They tended to be well-respected and were expected guests at local weddings and funerals—as well as the expected beer suppliers for these functions.[22] It was an effective system, too. When Adolphus Busch took Budweiser national in the early 1880s, the U.S. population was estimated at 40 million with an adult per capita beer consumption of 2.7 gallons; by the time of his death in 1913, the population had increased to 95 million with an adult per capita consumption of 29.5 gallons.[23]

Busch left the leadership of the company—and its sales efforts—to his son, August A. Busch, who was described in a contemporary article as someone who "personally directs his company's advertising and promotion work; lays out campaigns; analyzes sales possibilities."[24] It was August Busch who managed the company through World War I and Prohibition.

Budweiser: True temperance

The slogan for Budweiser between 1899 to 1905 was "King of Bottled Beers"; from 1906 to 1950, with the exception of Prohibition, the slogan was "King of All Bottled Beers"; in the years leading up to Prohibition, however, it was "Budweiser Means Moderation."[25] As early as 1903, Anheuser-Busch sought to position its product as the temperance beverage, offering beer as a family-friendly alternative to distilled liquor. (See Figure 1, appendix, p. 27.) This approach reflected the tactics of the brewing industry. For instance, the United States Brewing Association placed ads in *The Medical Record* and the *National Municipal Review* in an attempt to associate its products with "light wines and soft drinks—not hard liquor."[26]

With the onset of World War I, however, the Prohibition Movement stepped up its attacks against the breweries and began linking the them, many of which were owned or managed by people of German descent, with anti-patriotism. Additionally, these "drys" sought to shut down breweries by claiming that their use of grains was keeping bread from the mouths of allied soldiers.[27] Brewers, including Anheuser-Busch, responded by creating associations between their temperance drinks and American heroes such as George Washington, Ben Franklin, and Abraham Lincoln (who was used by "wets" and "drys" to support their respective viewpoints).[28]

Among these ads was one produced by Anheuser-Busch in 1914 that appeared to do more than simply convey images of pro-American sentiments. The ad combined the U.S. Constitution, the memory of German statesman Otto Von Bismarck, and the sentiment of "millions of German-American citizens" who "know that there is no evil in the light wines and beers of their fathers."[29] It is curious that in the face of the Prohibitionist anti-German attacks the company would employ a symbol of German nationalism to convey its message. Perhaps its goal was to display solidarity with other German-Americans while implying that a stand for things German might be more democratic than a stand for the American Prohibition Movement.

By the time the United States entered the war in 1917, however, Anheuser-Busch had returned to focusing on its own pro-American stance. For example, although Budweiser's national success in the previous thirty to forty years does not appear to have been hindered by its label, which retained a strong German identity, the company produced a new label in 1918 that employed distinctly American symbols. (See Figure 2, appendix, p. 28.) English replaced any remaining German, the American eagle replaced the German royal double eagle, and grains replaced crowns. The company also loaned its diesel engine facility to the U.S. Navy to build submarines, purchased at least $1,000,000 in Liberty Loans, and leased a portion of its plant space to the War Department to store munitions.[30]

In the meantime, Anheuser-Busch had begun to reap financial rewards from a relatively new product, a non-alcoholic, grain-based soft drink called "Bevo," which it had been producing since 1916, four years before the Eighteenth Amendment became law.[31] By bottling Bevo in 10-ounce bottles, as opposed to the 12-ounce beer bottles, the company created a healthful association with its "Malt-Nutrine," a non-alcoholic "liquid-food-tonic" product it had been selling since 1895 in a similar 10-ounce "squat" design bottle. To further this association with wholesomeness, the company also applied the same stork imagery to Bevo labels that it used for Malt-Nutrine as a symbol of nurturance, nourishment, and well-being.[32]

Within two years, Anheuser-Busch sold five million cases of Bevo. It was so successful so quickly that the company began selling it by the barrel.[33] After the company ceased beer production in late 1918 due to the wartime grain restrictions imposed by President Wilson in 1917, it used its thirty-six beer distribution branches to fill Bevo orders. By 1919, Bevo was on the global market. By mid-1920, however, four years after Bevo's introduction but only six months into Prohibition, Bevo sales began to decline; by 1923, sales were negligible.[34] One reason for this could be that the grain restrictions required a change in the Bevo manufacturing process, which changed its taste.[35] But those restrictions were lifted in early 1919 and the *Tatler* did not report a change in Bevo until the spring of 1921, when sales already had started to fall.[36] Instead, a more likely reason for the decline could be that Bevo had to compete with increasing amounts of home-brew and bootleg beer and liquor—as well as the new Budweiser.[37]

With the initial runaway success of Bevo, Anheuser-Busch began brewing a Budweiser near beer in September of 1919. The manufacturing process was identical to that of real beer, except that it was de-alcoholized to the legal limit of one-half of one percent before bottling.[38] The board of directors authorized $35,000 for an advertising campaign to promote it and sales took off the following February with five million cases shipped in that first year.[39] But, as with Bevo, sales steadily declined after an initial rush.[40]

Bevo and Budweiser near beer represented just two of the ways with which Anheuser-Busch sought to stave off the impact of Prohibition. Other approaches stemmed from the company's survival strategy of diversification and liquidation. In fact, by the end of the 1919, the company changed its name to reflect this strategy: from Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association to Anheuser-Busch, Inc. The idea of product diversification came from August Busch's philosophy that their business was to convert grain into other products.[41] Thus, he led the company into the livestock and poultry feed business as well as the glucose, corn sugar, corn oil, and gluten feed businesses. Later, Anheuser-Busch entered the baker's yeast business. Still more ideas came from examining the company's existing capabilities and finding ways to adapt them for other uses. Thus, for instance, the automobile department began making truck bodies and refinishing luxury passenger cars. It built refrigerated truck bodies and, coupled with the company's cold storage distribution branches originally used for beer, developed an ice cream business as well as a delivery business for perishable products. By 1926, ice cream sales exceeded one million gallons.[42] Carpenters who had built the cabinetry in saloons now built refrigerator cabinets.[43] To varying degrees of success, Anheuser-Busch also tried its hand at producing a number of soft drinks including root beer, ginger ale, coffee-, tea-, and chocolate-flavored drinks, and a grape drink sold in bottles as well as in a concentrate. Although there was a demand for mixers to cover the taste of homemade liquors, the company's costs of manufacturing often prevented it from competing successfully.[44] Additionally, Anheuser-Busch leased out its empty manufacturing and warehouse spaces and then sold steam and power to its tenants, which included box, sheet metal, printing, glass, and shoe companies.[45] As for the liquidation strategy, each week a special team met to review the company's real estate investments. In addition to selling surplus trucks and cars, as well as bonds, notes and stocks, Anheuser-Busch had sold half of its real estate holdings by 1924.[46]

In the first seven years of Prohibition, the company tried more than twenty-six products; of those, only a few, such as yeast, root beer, ginger ale, and syrup lasted beyond 1933.[47] Still, by 1923, Anheuser-Busch was breaking even.[48] In contrast, its biggest competitor in St. Louis had sold its brewery buildings in 1920 to a shoe company for ten cents on the dollar.[49]

The first year of the *Bevo Tatler*

The *Bevo Tatler* appeared in February 1919 at the outset of this scramble for survival. Its editors were listed as Oliver T. Remmers and George W. Eads, a newspaper reporter initially recruited by August Busch to counter Missouri legislation, although their bylines rarely appeared.[50] The inaugural issue was a highbrow sort of piece, with an essay about London *Tatler* essayist Joseph Addison, for whom the magazine was named.[51] Its mission, the *Bevo Tatler* informed its readers, was to serve as a medium for the exchange of ideas, "to tell the story of Bevo and for the information of the Bevo salesmen and dealers, to try to interpret the spirit and ideals of the men, the organization and institution back of it. . . . may we not hope that our advocacy of higher ideals in business will result in some small contribution to the cause of better citizenship and better government?"[52]

This issue included a message from the Bevo sales manager, who discussed the purity and healthfulness of Bevo and how its lack of added sugar, syrup, or sweetener meant that it would not bother digestion.[53] A two-page spread on the new Bevo Bottling and Shipping Plant described it as filling a production capacity of two million bottles every eight-hour day and emphasized the sanitary and healthful conditions of the plant, from the bottle cleaning system to the pasteurizing process to the on-site medical dispensary for employees.[54] This relentless emphasis on cleanliness was particularly striking because it not only reinforced the quality of the Bevo production process, but it seems to have been designed to counter the Prohibitionists' past attacks on the filth (moral and otherwise) perpetuated by the saloons and, by association, the breweries. Such repetition also served to reinforce to *Tatler* readers, the distributors and dealers, of the huge operations that supported their efforts.

Another article in this inaugural issue reminded readers that they were supported through advertising, as well, with national and local campaigns consisting of placements in more than 1,700 magazines and weekly and daily newspapers. Further, readers were assured that the advertising was "scientifically handled through an efficient advertising agency that conducts its business on such a high place as to thoroughly satisfy and win the confidence of publishers."[55]

The next month's issue profiled August A. Busch as "a man of vision" who conceived the idea of Bevo, knowing that "the conditions of today may be changed by the public sentiment tomorrow."[56] This kind of comment was the closest the *Tatler* came to criticizing Prohibition in those first years. A reprint of a September 1916 letter from Navy Secretary Josephus Daniels in response to August Busch's request to sell Bevo in ship commissaries not only demonstrated to the field agents the extensive range of the Bevo market, but implied a product endorsement from the Secretary of the Navy. Further, it alluded to Anheuser-Busch's patriotism in seeking to provide "healthful and non-intoxicating beverages" to the men in the military.[57]

A profile of Louis Pasteur served to emphasize the importance of pasteurization to Anheuser-Busch, another way to convey the company's commitment to cleanliness and purity.

Finally, this issue introduced the Bevo Mill to readers. The *Tatler* reported that the purpose of the Mill, opened in St. Louis in 1916, was to demonstrate to the city, if not the country, that beer, good food, good music, and family all could be combined in a wholesome atmosphere. The article did not say it, but the implication was clear: the combination of alcohol and wholesomeness might have been contrary to temperance thought, but the Mill's ability to fill its seating capacity of 285 people inside and another 400 outside in the summer garden, was testimony to its success.

It was not until the April 1919 issue that the *Tatler* printed two Bevo ads as samples of that year's campaign, the purpose of which was "to prove to the public, by the presentation of indisputable facts, that Bevo is first of all a quality product; that it is manufactured in the most perfect, the most sanitary, and the best scientifically equipped beverage plant in the world, and that it has won its leadership solely on merit." (See Figure 3, appendix, p. 29.) Readers were then informed that copies of the ads were available for them to place in their local newspapers upon request. One ad emphasized the size and advanced technology of the new plant, which was built due to "popular demand" for Bevo. The second ad emphasized Bevo as the leader in its product category based on the number of followers and imitators it had. Whereas both ads invited visitors to tour the plant, neither one featured the Anheuser-Busch brand and logo the way later Budweiser near-beer ads did. This was consistent with establishing Bevo as a distinct brand but it also reflected the company's attempt to expand its appeal beyond its base of former beer-drinking customers to include non-drinkers, those who might have disapproved of beer—and a brand so closely associated with it—but who might have approved of a wholesome beverage whose source was downplayed.

The May issue featured another set of ads that positioned Bevo as a sportsman's drink: "good to train and gain on."[58] The June issue's ad spread emphasized the healthfulness of Bevo: "Bevo is the highest refinement of the natural drink of primitive man—the accepted drink of modern America—a beverage with real food value."[59] This issue also provided fourteen reasons for Bevo's purity, including the high grade of cereals used, the $1 million state-of-the-art manufacturing plant, the $10 million bottling and shipping plant, the copper tanks that were "hand-scoured and sterilized by steam under 100 pounds of pressure," and the fact that the whole process is "untouched by human hands."[60] In fact, all fourteen points focused on cleanliness, pasteurization, filtering, or sterilization. At the end of the list, the *Tatler* noted, "These 14 vital points should be impressed by salesmen, distributors and dealers upon the public mind."[61] Again, Anheuser-Busch considered the wholesomeness of the product as well as its sanitary manufacturing process to be significant selling points. Specifically, at a time when it was estimated that women bought 87 percent of "raw and market foods," this emphasis on purity and wholesomeness likely reflected the company's attempts to reach out to the family shopper.[62]

The July 1919 issue introduced the idea of advertising in movie theaters, a concept that has become a standard feature of movie-going in our time. The *Tatler* explained that film audiences could not overlook the "hand colored lantern slides" as they might a newspaper ad, promising that the slides would "be certain to attract the attention of the movie fans, and the text will convince them that they should drink Bevo."[63] The slide content duplicated many of the ads and they could be localized for the distributor. (See Figure 4, appendix, p. 30.)

This issue also revisited the company's advertising efforts on behalf of its readers. Because the story did not discuss ad size or placement frequency, the goal seems to have been to impress upon readers the enormous support their efforts were receiving from the company. The

Tatler informed them that Bevo was advertised in every town where Anheuser-Busch had agents buying in carload lots. On the national level, it was advertising in 1,700 magazines, newspapers, billboards, and street cars for an estimated total circulation of 50 million, with an average appearance in each newspaper of 15 times a year and in each magazine of 2.5 times. Thus, with an estimated total number of annual imprints of 750 million and an estimated U.S. population of 100 million, the *Tatler* told its readers, each person in the country conceivably could be exposed to a Bevo message seven times a year.[64] The story also made clear that Anheuser-Busch was mindful of the power and limitations of its advertising efforts, noting, "The American public has been educated to believe in advertising and advertised goods. The people know that only reliable goods stand the test of advertising. . . . no product that is not meritorious can long survive, no matter how liberally it is advertised. . . . the dealer cannot reap the full benefit of our advertising investment unless he is alert and takes advantage of every opportunity to increase his sales."[65]

The October 1919 *Tatler* included a list of the magazines in which the company placed ads for Bevo and Malt-Nutrine. Again, because this piece included circulation figures only, it seems clear that the purpose was to convey the enormity of the advertising support Anheuser-Busch provided its distributors and dealers. Thus, it listed 36 magazines in which Bevo ads would appear for a combined circulation of more than 15.8 million, and 22 magazines in which Malt-Nutrine ads would appear for a combined circulation of more than 11.3 million. "As an aid in promoting sales, think what this tremendous volume of advertising means to distributors and dealers everywhere. It is one of the reasons why Bevo is known to every consumer of soft drinks as the most delicious, nutritious and satisfying cereal beverage."[66]

The December 1919 issue presented the new (near beer) Budweiser as "The Re-Creation of Anheuser-Busch's Famous Budweiser" which conformed to "every provision of the Volstead law, which became effective October 28, 1919."[67] (The Volstead Act served as the enforcement arm of the Eighteenth Amendment.) Although this was one of the few direct references to Prohibition in these early issues of the *Tatler*, the purpose was to reaffirm the company's adherence to the law. On the back cover, the company reinforced the themes of purity, healthfulness, and consistent quality, explaining that the new Budweiser was manufactured just like the old ". . . fully and maturely lagered, put up in sterilized, hermetically sealed, 12-ounce brown bottles, and pasteurized to insure its permanent purity and quality."[68] The key to promoting this new Budweiser, the *Tatler* explained, was not to offer it as an alternative to beer, but to offer it as a quality product in its own right, a strategy pursued by some competing soft drink manufacturers as well.[69] In fact, the *Tatler* claimed, Budweiser never was "intoxicating," but a "healthful and invigorating stimulant."[70] This same issue also announced the introduction of Anheuser-Busch's "Malt Sugar Syrup," a product endorsed by the Department of Agriculture as containing ingredients that serve as a pure and healthful sugar substitute.[71] Ironically, this product would come into great demand by home-brewers and bootleggers as a base for their homemade liquor.[72]

The first year of the *Tatler's* publication set the pattern for the next few years: to introduce national advertising efforts undertaken by Anheuser-Busch, to share effective promotional ideas, and to communicate directly with the distributors and dealers. This last area is significant because through directives to its agents, the company sought to control the messages that reached its customers.

Advertisements

In the tradition of Adolphus Busch's highly successful poster, "Custer's Last Fight," and in its continued efforts to demonstrate its patriotism, the company launched a series of poster sets in the summer of 1920 that dramatized the American presidency, exploration, and invention. Coinciding with the political conventions being held that summer, the first set depicted incidents in the boyhood or early manhood of Presidents Grant, Cleveland, Garfield, and Lincoln.[73] The July issue promoted a "Discoverer" poster series featuring Lewis & Clark, John Fremont, and Pierre Laclede, as well as an image of "discovering the Mississippi," while the August issue featured a "Transportation" series with images of a wagon train, dogsled, steamboat, and train.[74]

Three later issues returned to the use of movie theater advertisements which distributors and dealers could localize to reach "an average of 35 percent of the population in your town every week."[75] Two sets of slide images designed two years apart promoted the new Budweiser near beer although none referred to it as such. (See Figures 5 and 6, appendix, pp. 31-32.) Instead, they focused on its taste and quality and created an association with the brand image of the former real beer version with phrases such as "the famous friend of old," "brings back 'the friendly glass,'" "memories add charm to its wonderful taste," and "same name—same taste—same flavor." Additionally, five of the eight ads encouraged the consumer to buy a case for the home. As one ad reminded consumers, "No household commissary complete without it." Another confronted the question of price, informing the consumer that "those who want quality will pay the price." Still another in this set called attention to the "purity, food-value and satisfaction in every bottle." As an example of how the company reinforced its brand in contrast to its Bevo and Malt-Nutrine ads, seven of these eight slides featured prominent images of bottles of Budweiser, the word "Budweiser," the words "Anheuser-Busch," and the "A & Eagle" trademark logo. One slide replaced the Anheuser-Busch name with an image of an appetizing tray of meats, reminiscent of the free lunches often served by saloons before Prohibition.

The summer of 1922 brought two more sets of ad samples to *Tatler* readers. The first set, which appeared in the June issue, consisted of eight ads from a Budweiser near beer campaign. As with the slide images, these focused on quality, taste ("just as good as ever"), "tonic food value," and previous product experience—of the consumer ("same old flavor") and of the company ("mellowed by many years of knowing how.")[76] Seven of the eight ads featured an image of a bottle of Budweiser on the left and the words "Budweiser" and "Everywhere." All of the ads featured prominently the "A & Eagle" logo as well as the Anheuser-Busch name. One ad returned to the idea that intoxication was never the reason to enjoy a Budweiser: "Body and flavor, not alcoholic content, made Budweiser the favorite. And body and flavor are the same today." Another touted Budweiser's tonic food value, replacing the image of the Budweiser bottle with a larger logo and promoting other Anheuser-Busch products: "Made famous by the manufacturers of Bevo, A.B. Ginger Ale, A.B. Root Beer, A.B. Draught, A.B. Barley Malt Syrup, Malt-Nutrine and other products."[77]

The second set of samples appeared in the August 1922 issue and promoted the company's A-B Ginger Ale, which, like Bevo and Malt-Nutrine before it, was packaged in the 10-ounce squat bottle. Although the *Tatler* reported that these samples were intended only to show "the general character of the advertising," they reflected the familiar themes of quality and taste ("mellow, yet full of pep and ginger") and included the same emphasis on brand image as in the Budweiser ads.[78] Unlike Bevo or Malt-Nutrine, which had their own brand names, this product was called "Anheuser-Busch Ginger Ale."

In addition to previewing its national ads, the *Tatler* also promoted ad ideas developed and placed independently by field agents. For example, the December 1920 issue reprinted the ads of the New State Ice Company of Oklahoma City, which promoted "Bud" as a soda fountain drink ("cooling, refreshing, satisfying and healthful"), as a children's drink (". . . there's nothing like "BUD" as a health and brawn builder. Wise mothers keep a case in the house all the time"), and as a refreshment for workers or old timers ("It isn't quite the same—it can't be—but it looks, foams, smells, sparkles and tastes like it.")[79] These ads were folksier than Anheuser-Busch's ads and they took on the "near beer" issue more directly ("its goodness makes you forget the 'kick.'")[80] Nevertheless, the *Tatler* encouraged its readers to develop their own ads, to ask the Anheuser-Busch Advertising Department for help in creating local ads, or to request copies of these ads for use in their own markets.

Promotional ideas

In addition to advertising, the *Tatler* shared promotional ideas with its readers, as well, including signage, special events, in-store displays, and even some point-of-purchase opportunities. The December 1920 issue reported how some distributors and dealers placed signs on their trucks and in their windows to great success. It added that "advertising experts tell us that the psychological influence of advertising makes many sales. . . . continually remind them [the public] that you have Budweiser and Bevo for sale. The effect is to create a psychological condition of mind that will eventually compel the observer to buy. When a consumer once buys Budweiser and Bevo, why, you've got him, that's all."[81]

A promotional idea from Spokane involved distributing tickets that promised the recipients a free glass of "ICE COLD Anheuser-Busch Draught" at the Peacock Buffet.[82] A photograph of a shop sign featuring Budweiser (near beer) recalled saloon proprietor's August Korn's newspaper ad of fifty years before:

> TRY OUR BUDWEISER LUNCH 25c
> Choice of Swiss cheese, Ham or "Our Sausage"
> Sandwich with real rye bread and bottle of old, good
> Budweiser—Top off with our clear "Havanas" 3 for 25c[83]

The May 1922 issue reported how some salesmen used their spare tire covers for advertising.[84] It reminded readers to remember Bevo as a children's drink and, in keeping with its advertising message strategy, to give the Anheuser-Busch trademark "the widest possible circulation and keep it everlastingly before the public."[85]

As a precursor to the kind of corporate sponsorship that would eventually pair the Busch name with St. Louis baseball and Budweiser with NASCAR, the *Tatler* urged its readers to integrate Anheuser-Busch products into local events, such as county and state fairs and baseball games: "Get busy with the management of every baseball club in your territory and see that both Budweiser and Bevo are sold to the fans at every game."[86] Church support was encouraged, too. Suggestions included placing ads in church directories and providing Bevo for churches to sell at their socials, allowing them to return any unsold bottles.[87] The *Tatler* also lauded the achievements of agents such as Charles Ilfield of Albuquerque, who made sure that one ice-cold bottle of Budweiser accompanied each of two-hundred place settings at a local banquet.[88]

In-store displays were valued greatly and the *Tatler* often highlighted efforts such as the Colorado distributor whose salesmen traveled with cases of iced-down bottles of Bevo for their customers to try. Once a customer decided to buy, the salesman set up a display of Bevo cases at the front of the store with a sign that invited customers to buy by the case.[89] Another *Tatler* item featured a photograph of a Bevo window display in a Kansas City F. W. Woolworth's and a description of the promotion. (See Figure 7, appendix, p. 33.) Frederick Ellis stood in an extravagantly decorated store window for an entire day, using handheld signs to get the attention of passers-by. Once he did, he would hold up a sign that read, "Gee! I'm glad I'm Thirsty" and then drink a bottle of Bevo with gusto. By day's end, he had drunk twenty-one bottles.

Additionally, the *Tatler* provided ideas for point-of-purchase opportunities. A letter from an Arkansas grocer urged customers to try the new (near beer) Budweiser by splitting one with a friend.[90] Other ideas included producing grocery bag inserts that promoted the company's Grape Bouquet drink on one side and provided recipes on the other; pairing new Anheuser-Busch beverage products with Malt-Nutrine in store displays, especially in drug stores; and instructing sales clerks to mention Budweiser to their customers, just as they would a staple article.[91]

Directives to distributors and dealers

The *Tatler* also addressed the distributors and dealers directly, sometimes giving them instructions, sometimes even scripting appropriate responses. In addressing issues of price, it explained that because Anheuser-Busch paid the government tax on Bevo up front, retailers should not raise the price by telling customers it was due to the tax increase.[92] It also reminded readers that price was not the issue in sales: "A wishy-washy attitude toward your price is overwhelming evidence to the other fellow that your price IS too high."[93] Ideas on how to appeal to women as the family grocery shoppers included some from a Macon, Georgia, distributor who suggested capitalizing on the sale of Bevo in military canteens and aboard ship: if the military approved it, women could depend on its "purity and wholesomeness," too.[94] He also recommended reminding women how well Bevo went with meals: "Bevo will solve many lunch troubles in hot or cold weather. . . . Bevo is nourishing . . . pasteurized . . . non-alcoholic . . . contains no drugs!"[95]

In the February 1920 issue, one month into Prohibition, the *Tatler* reaffirmed Anheuser-Busch's adherence to the law, reminded readers of the sales opportunities in the cereal beverage market created by the demise of some competitors who were "swept away by the enactment of new laws," and reiterated the company's commitment to advertising: "This is an age in which national advertising, intelligently and skillfully directed, is necessary to make a permanent success of any product. . . . We shall continue in the future, as we have in the past, to back up our distributors and dealers, with advertising that covers the entire North American continent."[96]

The March 1920 issue of the *Tatler* stressed the importance of sterilizing drinking glasses, echoing the themes of purity and cleanliness that appeared in the company's ads at this time: "Let your customers know that you serve your drinks and eatables in sterilized glasses and dishes, and watch your sales go up."[97]

Another story in this issue described the Budweiser (near beer) dedication at the Bevo plant in St. Louis. The *Tatler* reported that 10,000 people attended including St. Louis distributors and dealers and "city officials, judges, clergymen and other prominent citizens."[98] Guests included many men, some women, and a few children. Together they drank more than 35,000 glasses of the new Budweiser either in formal taste tests or over a lunch of sausages, roasted pigs, baked hams, bread, and condiments—again, the kinds of items served by saloons as free lunch fare before Prohibition.[99] Here, the company not only intended to share the events of the day, but to demonstrate to the distributors and dealers the popularity of the new Budweiser: if public officials and clergy could enjoy it—much less children—then their customers would, too.

Among the new products featured in the *Tatler* was a one-dozen-bottle carton of Budweiser designed to fit in small apartments where "thousands live" and which "takes little room, the package is neat, and it is always handy when a bottle or two is needed for the ice box."[100] The *Tatler* encouraged readers to "push the sale of Budweiser and Ginger Ale in handy-package cartons through grocers and druggists and other dealers making direct deliveries to the home. . . . It is surprising how well our distributors hold up their distribution when they cultivate the family trade through these methods."[101]

In 1920 and 1921, the company grew concerned about Bevo sales. So much so, as it turns out, that it changed the name of the *Bevo Tatler* to the *Anheuser-Busch Tatler* in May 1921. Still, readers were reminded not to neglect Bevo, but to promote it along with Budweiser, the sales of which also had begun to lag by this time, because (1) the two beverages did not compete with another, so (2) it was possible to emphasize the quality of both, and (3) "if there is any prejudice against cereal beverages [Bevo] manufactured in conformance to the present laws it is purely psychological."[102] By August 1921, readers were asked to promote Bevo along with A-B Ginger Ale, as well, another indication of declining Bevo sales.[103]

Within a year, the tone of the *Tatler* changed. Articles with titles such "Respect for Law," "Is Uncle Sam a Bootlegger?," "Why Profiteers Financed Prohibition," and "Big Increase in Divorces Under Prohibition" appeared more frequently, usurping space formerly used to promote the company and its products to its agents and, through them, to its customers.[104] This did not mean the *Tatler* suffered a loss in readership as a result—in fact, it reported an increase in circulation from 5,000 at the outset to more than 12,500—but it nonetheless ceased publication in December 1924.[105]

Perhaps the company felt freer to express itself concerning Prohibition after it broke even in 1923. Perhaps the decline in Bevo and Budweiser sales, despite the previous five years of effort, convinced Anheuser-Busch that no amount of promotion could overcome the public's thirst for alcohol, legal or not. Or, perhaps the company decided to channel its promotional energies into its yeast operations, which it began exploring in 1921 and began producing in 1926.[106] Whatever the reason, the company made it clear that it believed it had accomplished its educational mission through the *Tatler*, which served as: ". . . a textbook on the products of

Anheuser-Busch, their processes of manufacture, the sales policies, principles and ethics of the Corporation, and the spokesman for our distributors and dealers."[107]

Conclusion

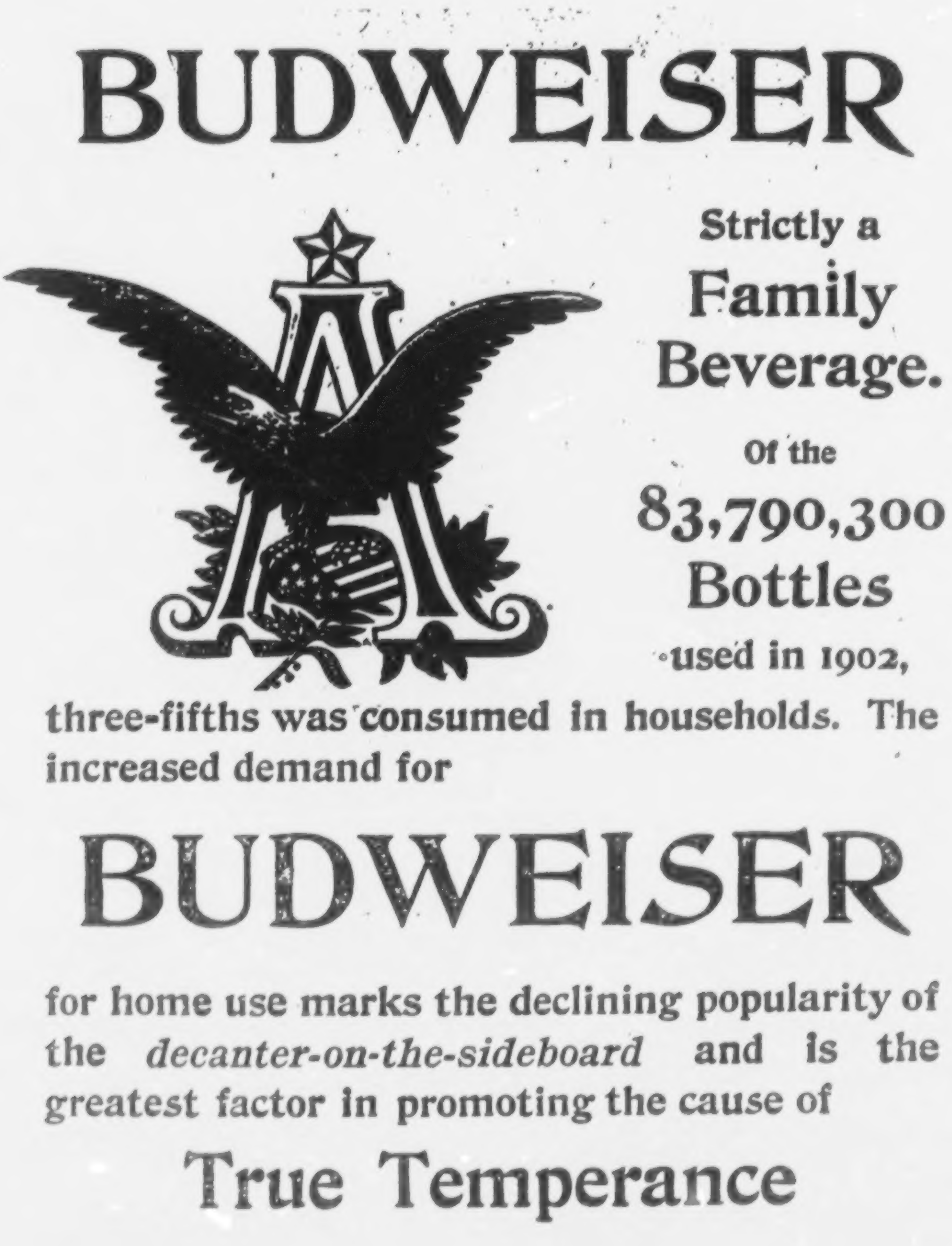
By using the *Tatler* to communicate its advertising campaigns, promotional ideas, and directives to its distributors and dealers, Anheuser-Busch was able to continue its tradition of creative, personalized, localized advertising that emphasized cleanliness, purity, quality and, in the early issues, patriotism. No longer in the business of handing out pocket knives, the company instead employed slides for movie houses and re-introduced its use of posters as premiums. It continued to rely on the value of its brand name and logo and it reinforced the importance of the personal sales approach championed by founder Adolphus Busch.

It is difficult to determine the precise impact the *Tatler* may have had on the company's bottom line, however. Even as it was producing advertising in the form of posters and slides, Anheuser-Busch was entering other product categories and liquidating its assets to survive. Although the company continued to produce Bevo and Budweiser near beer until 1929 and 1933, respectively, sales of both were negligible by 1923. By that time, however, Anheuser-Busch had regained its footing. Losses had decreased from almost $2.5 million in 1919 to less than a quarter of a million dollars by the end of 1922, although employment experienced a similar drop from an estimated 6,500-8,000 in 1920 to 2,000 by 1925.[108] By 1923, the company reported that it had broken even, although, by 1924, it had sold one-half of its holdings.[109]

The fates of other Anheuser-Busch products developed during Prohibition varied. A-B Ginger-Ale ceased production in 1928, but A-B Extra Dry Ginger Ale survived until 1942, as did the company's root beer; production ceased on Grape Bouquet in 1928 but it continued with Malt Syrup until 1954 and with baker's yeast until 1990.[110] The original team of Clydesdales was given as a gift to August A. Busch by his sons; the horses were introduced to the public as the Budweiser Clydesdales in 1933 and continue serve as a symbol of the company today.[111] The Bevo Mill is still in operation, although, in accordance with laws stemming from Prohibition, Anheuser-Busch has retained ownership of the property and the building, but not the restaurant per se.[112] Today, the company's diversified operations range from refrigerator car manufacturing to SeaWorld.[113] And, as of 2000, 140 years after Eberhard Anheuser bought The Bavarian Brewery and long after the beer collector system was gone, Anheuser-Busch employed 34,751 people and reported net sales of more than $12 billion.[114]

Perhaps the *Tatler's* most significant contribution, then, is that it provided a way for Anheuser-Busch to maintain its traditional person-to-person sales approach while establishing new product lines, developing new business strategies, and redefining its customer base. It served as a transitional piece, creating a link between the company's pre-Prohibition messages and its Prohibition products while cultivating ideas that later grew into elements of the company's modern marketing mix.

Appendix



BUDWEISER

Strictly a
Family
Beverage.

Of the
83,790,300
Bottles
used in 1902,

three-fifths was consumed in households. The increased demand for

BUDWEISER

for home use marks the declining popularity of the *decanter-on-the-sideboard* and is the greatest factor in promoting the cause of

True Temperance

Figure 1: True Temperance, 1903. Note the emphasis on household consumption to counter associations between breweries and saloons. Also, because families were turning away from hard liquor by drinking Budweiser, it was the beverage of moderation. *Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Used by permission.*

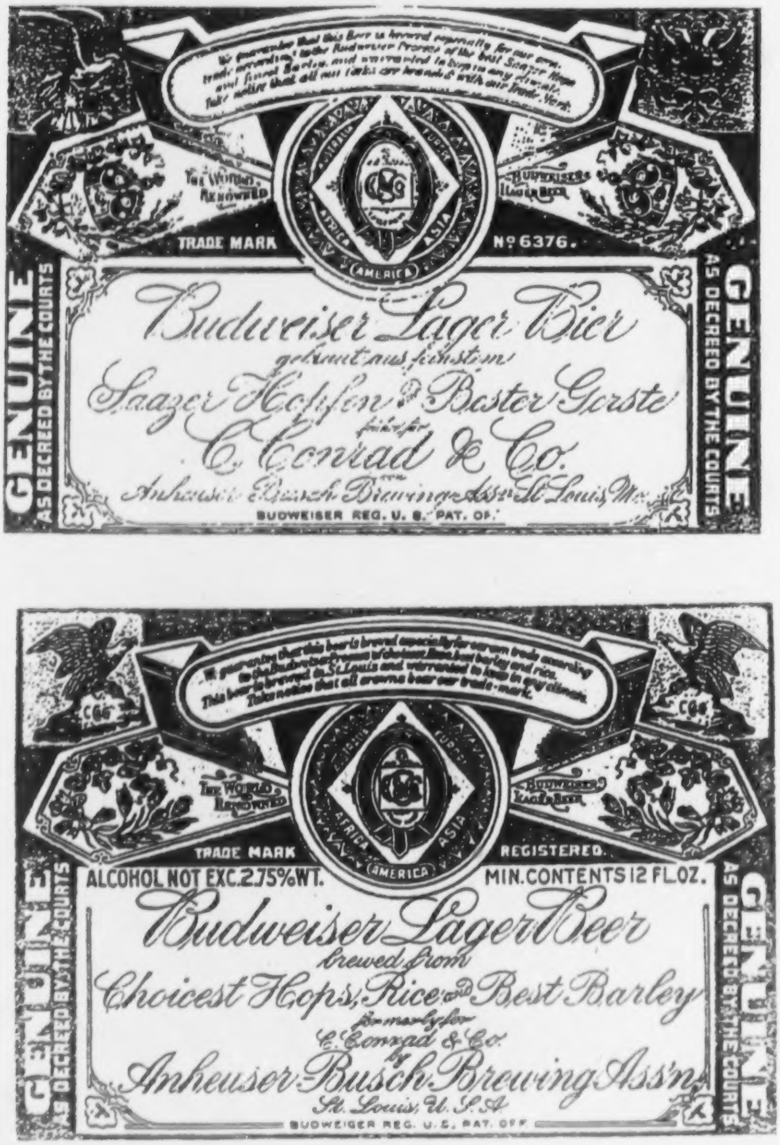

TRADE MARK
Nº 6376.
GENUINE
AS DECREED BY THE COURTS
Budweiser Lager Bier
gebraut aus feinstem
Saazer Hopfen & Bester Gerste
C. Conrad & Co.
Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n St. Louis, Mo.
BUDWEISER REG. U. S. PAT. OF.
AFRICA
ASIA
AMERICA
TRADE MARK
REGISTERED
ALCOHOL NOT EXC. 2.75% WT.
MIN. CONTENTS 12 FL. OZ.
Budweiser Lager Beer
brewed from
Choicest Hops, Rice & Best Barley
formerly for
C. Conrad & Co.
by
Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n
St. Louis, U. S. A.
BUDWEISER REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

Figure 2: Changes in Budweiser label, 1918. From the 1880s, when it first entered the national market, through 1917, Budweiser beer carried labels that retained a German identity. The label at top was used during the 27 years before the company Americanized it in 1918 in response to anti-German sentiments (bottom). *Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Used by permission.*

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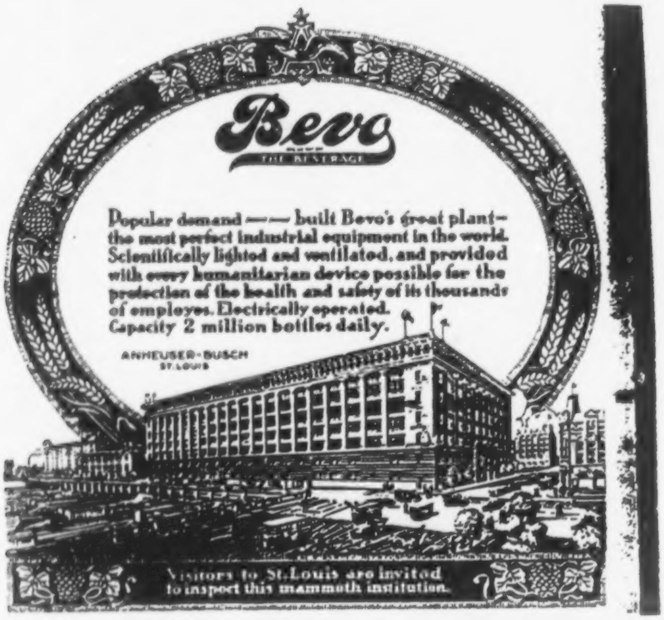


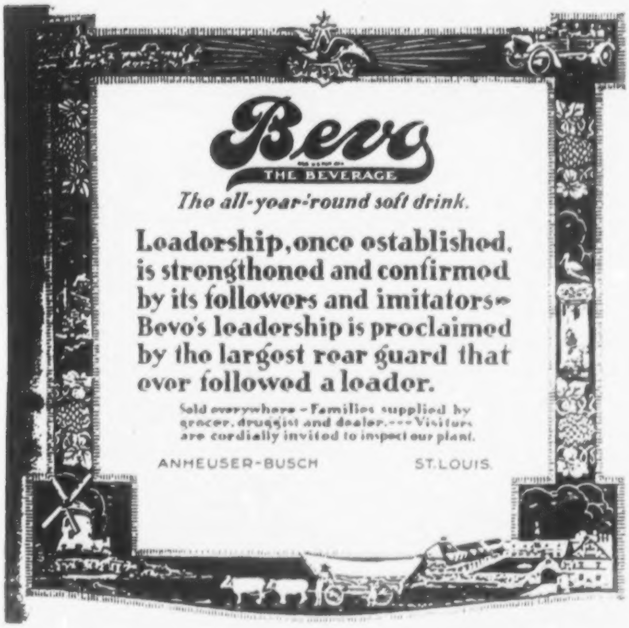
Bevo

THE BEVERAGE

Popular demand —— built Bevo's great plant— the most perfect industrial equipment in the world. Scientifically lighted and ventilated, and provided with every humanitarian device possible for the protection of the health and safety of its thousands of employes. Electrically operated. Capacity 2 million bottles daily.

ANHEUSER-BUSCH
ST. LOUIS

Visitors to St. Louis are invited to inspect this mammoth institution.



Bevo

THE BEVERAGE

The all-year-'round soft drink.

Leadership, once established, is strengthened and confirmed by its followers and imitators— Bevo's leadership is proclaimed by the largest rear guard that ever followed a leader.

Sold everywhere – Families supplied by grocer, druggist and dealer.— Visitors are cordially invited to inspect our plant.

ANHEUSER-BUSCH ST. LOUIS

Figure 3: Bevo ads, 1919. Note that the messages emphasized the beverage's popularity (top and bottom) and the plant's state-of-the-art technology as well as its size and manufacturing capacity (top). The family continued to be targeted as well (bottom). *Bevo Tatler*, April 1919, 10-11. *Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Used by permission.*

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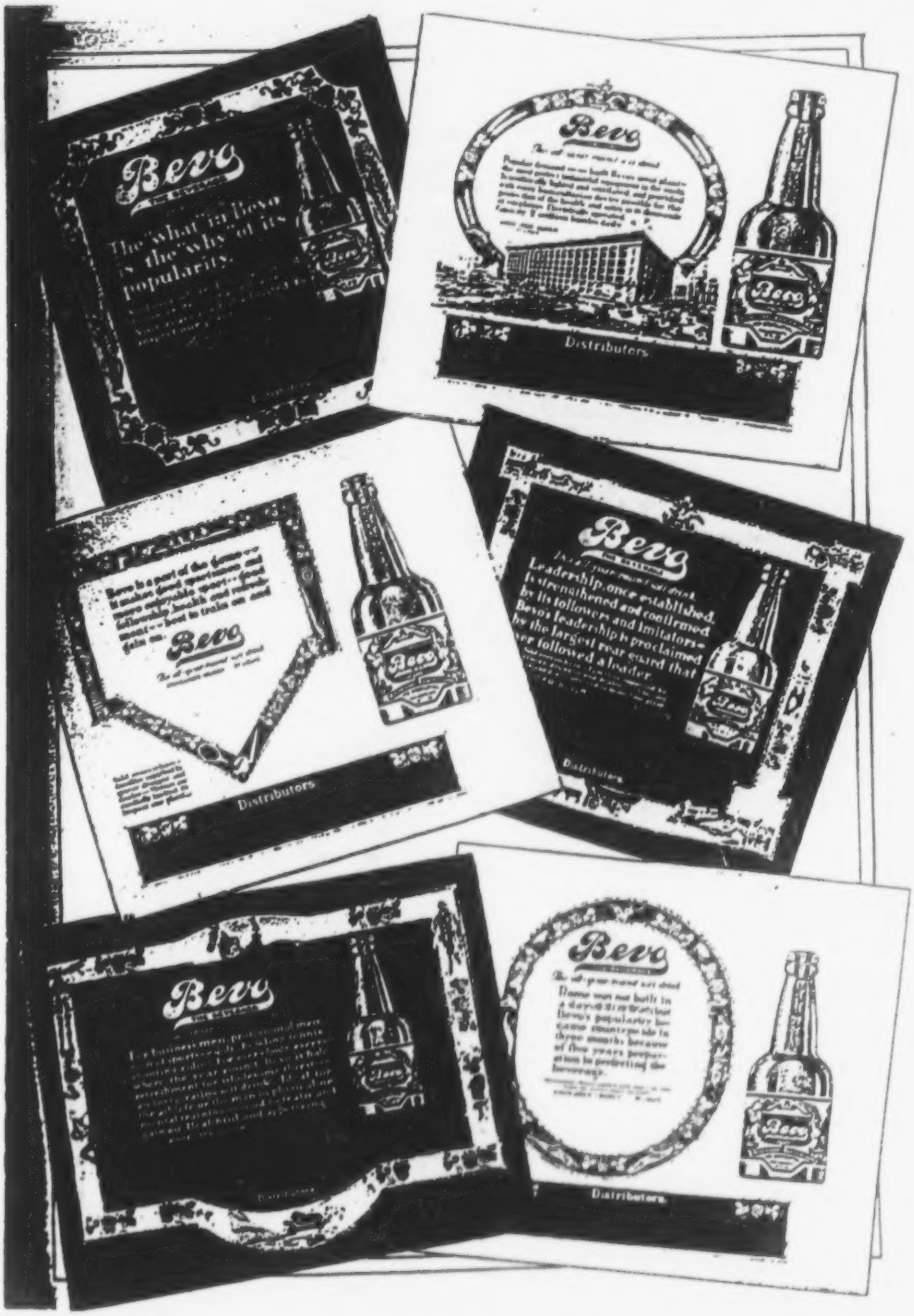
Bevo
Distributors
Bevo
Distributors
Bevo
Bevo
Distributors
Bevo
Distributors
Bevo
Bevo
Distributors

The "what" in Bevo is the "why" of its popularity.

Leadership, once established, is strengthened and confirmed by its followers and imitators— Bevo's leadership is proclaimed by the largest rear guard that er followed a leader.

Figure 4: Bevo slides, 1919. Note the emphasis on leadership, success, popularity, and health. Four of them invited viewers to visit the Bevo plant in St. Louis. *Bevo Tatler*, July 1919, 12-13. *Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Used by permission.*

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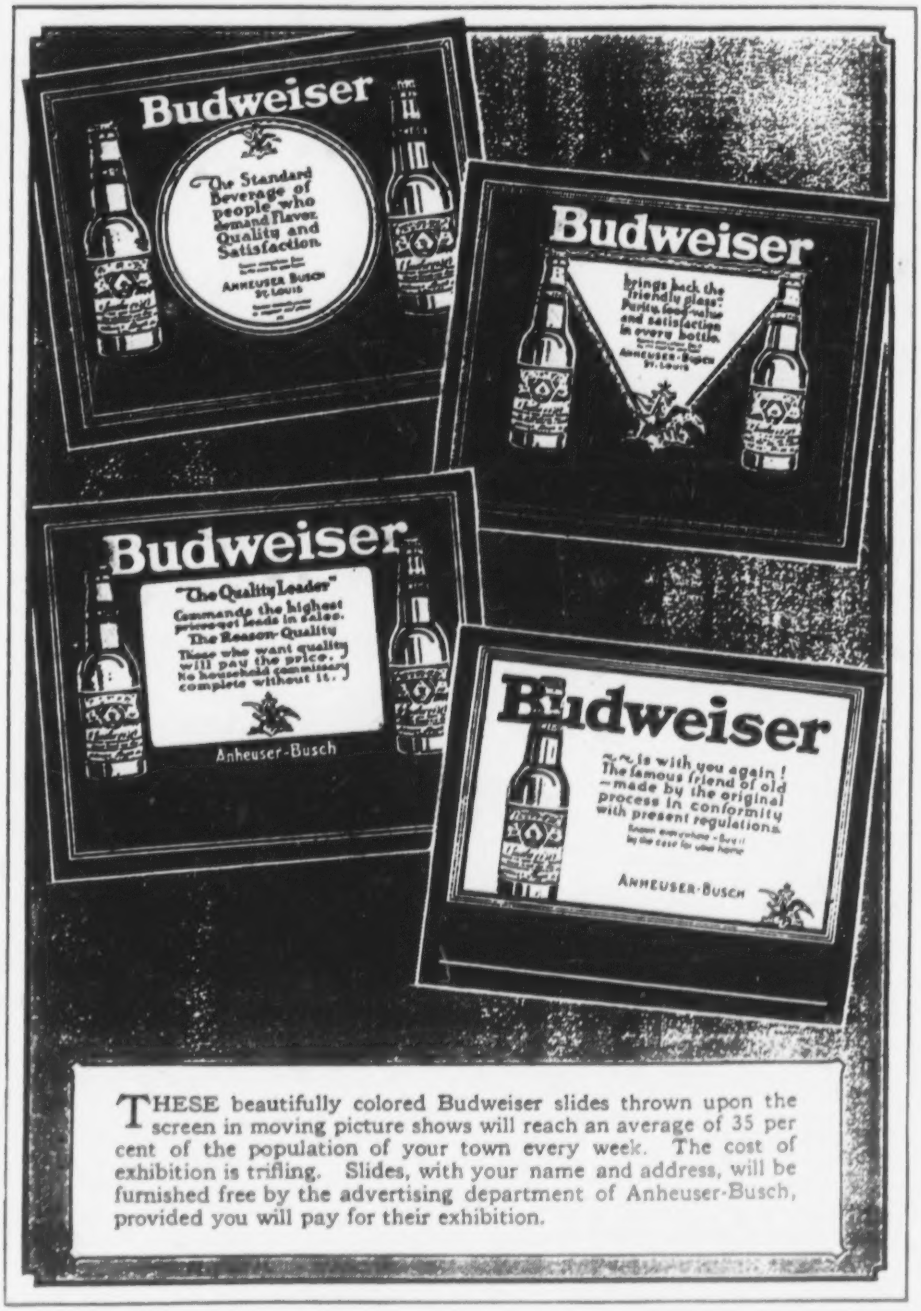
Budweiser
The Standard Beverage of people who demand Flavor, Quality and Satisfaction
Anheuser Busch
St. Louis
Budweiser
brings back the friendly glass: Purity, food-value and satisfaction in every bottle.
Anheuser-Busch
St. Louis
Budweiser
"The Quality Leader"
Commands the highest price—yet leads in sales.
The Reason—Quality
Those who want quality will pay the price. No household commissary complete without it.
Anheuser-Busch
Budweiser
is with you again! The famous friend of old—made by the original process in conformity with present regulations.
Anheuser-Busch

THESE beautifully colored Budweiser slides thrown upon the screen in moving picture shows will reach an average of 35 per cent of the population of your town every week. The cost of exhibition is trifling. Slides, with your name and address, will be furnished free by the advertising department of Anheuser-Busch, provided you will pay for their exhibition.

Figure 5: Budweiser near beer slides, 1920. Unlike in the Bevo slides, the brand image is emphasized here and in Figure 6. Each slide featured the "Budweiser" name at least twice, counting the bottle label; the "Anheuser-Busch" name at least twice; and the "A & Eagle" trademark logo one time each. Clockwise, from top left, the message focused on flavor and satisfaction, quality and satisfaction, familiarity, and quality and price. The latter two promoted the consumption of Budweiser at home. Finally, note that agents were expected to pay for these ("The cost of exhibition is trifling."). *Bevo Tatler*, December 1920, 5. *Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Used by permission.*

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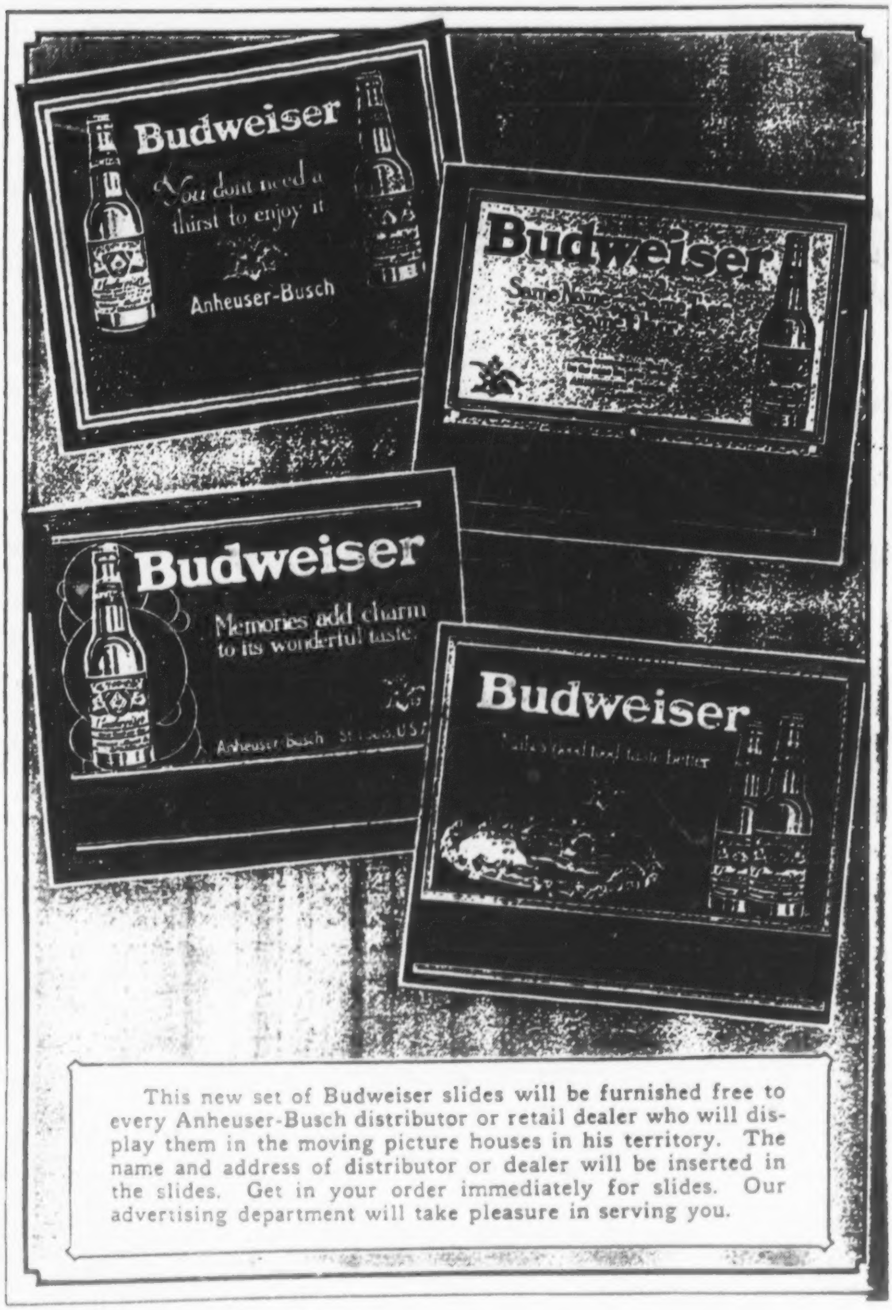
Budweiser
You dont need a thirst to enjoy it
Anheuser-Busch
Budweiser
Budweiser
Memories add charm to its wonderful taste.
Anheuser-Busch
Budweiser

This new set of Budweiser slides will be furnished free to every Anheuser-Busch distributor or retail dealer who will display them in the moving picture houses in his territory. The name and address of distributor or dealer will be inserted in the slides. Get in your order immediately for slides. Our advertising department will take pleasure in serving you.

Figure 6: Budweiser near beer slides, 1922. The brand prominence is as strong as in Figure 5, but this set of slides appealed more to the pleasure of consuming the product by emphasizing taste, thirst, and flavor. The bottom right slide recalled the free saloon lunches of pre-Prohibition times. This time, the slides were offered to agents at no cost. *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, February 1922, 16. *Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Used by permission.*

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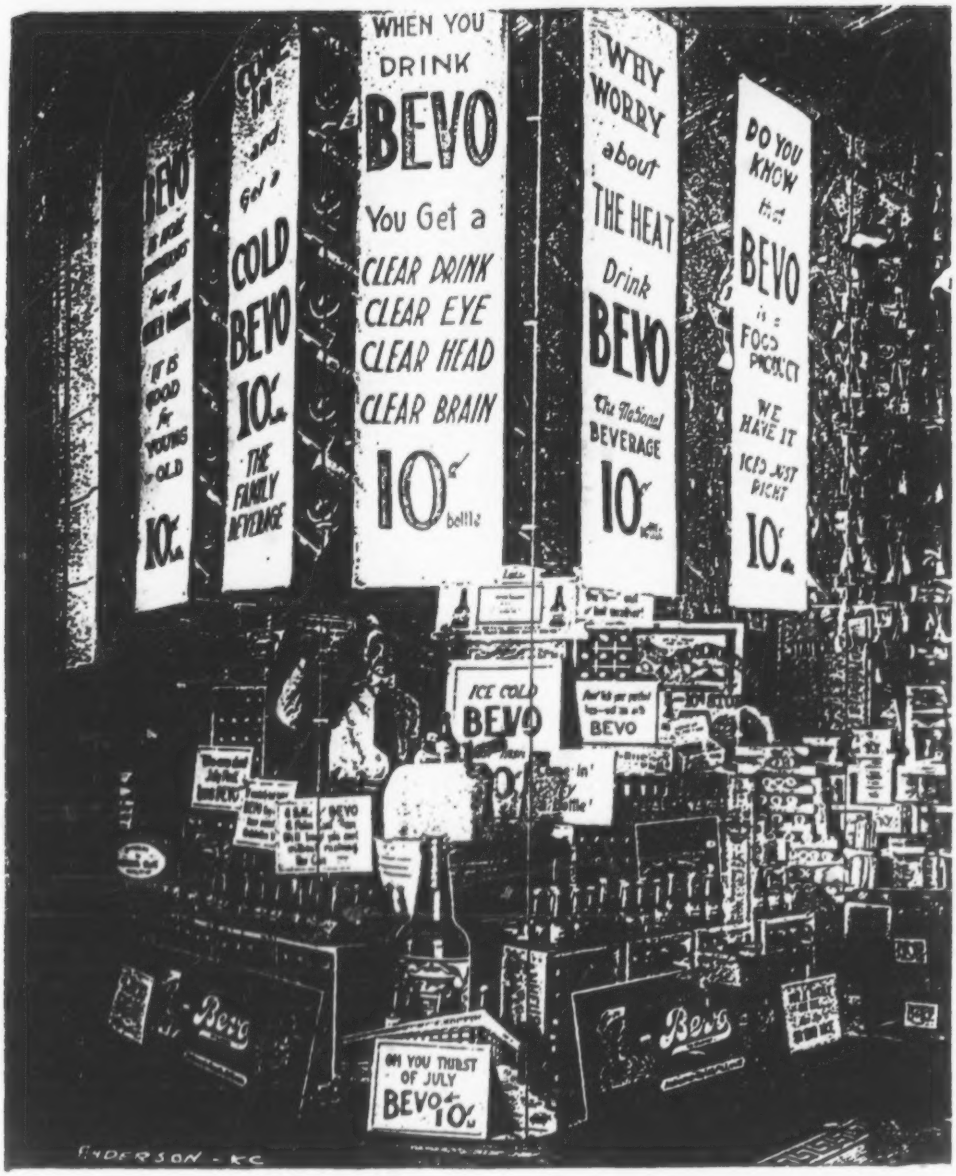
WHEN YOU
DRINK
BEVO
You Get a
CLEAR DRINK
CLEAR EYE
CLEAR HEAD
CLEAR BRAIN
10¢ bottle
WHY WORRY about THE HEAT Drink BEVO The National BEVERAGE 10¢
DO YOU KNOW that BEVO is a FOOD PRODUCT WE HAVE IT ICED JUST RIGHT 10¢
and Get a COLD BEVO 10¢ THE FAMILY BEVERAGE
BEVO IT IS GOOD for YOUNG OLD 10¢
ICE COLD BEVO
BEVO
OH YOU THIRST OF JULY BEVO 10¢
Bevo
Bevo
ANDERSON - KC

Figure 7: Woolworth window, 1919. In the early days of the *Tatler*—and the heyday of Bevo sales—mention of such store promotions were not uncommon. This particular one stood out because of the elaborate window design and because the clerk drank 21 bottles of Bevo in one day as part of the promotion. The *Tatler* reported that this effort generated a 300 percent increase in Bevo sales (but it did not say for how long or what the base sales volume had been). *Bevo Tatler*, August 1919, 18. *Courtesy of Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Used by permission.*

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Endnotes

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[1] There are two versions of how Anheuser-Busch came to brew Budweiser beer. One depicts Adolphus Busch and Carl Conrad, a St. Louis wine merchant, collaborating on the formula; the other depicts Conrad as purchasing the rights from the Budweis monastery in Eastern Europe to brew and sell it in the United States. Both versions have Busch as the brewer and Conrad as the bottler/distributor and both include the transfer of Conrad's interest to Busch in 1883 and Busch's hiring of Conrad as a lifelong employee. See "The History of Anheuser-Busch Companies—A Fact Sheet," Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc., 1995, 16; Ronald J. Plavchan, *A History of Anheuser-Busch, 1852-1933* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 30; "King of Bottled Beer," *Fortune*, July 1935, 47; Gerald Holland, "Adolphus Busch: The King of Brewers," *American Mercury*, October 1929, 174.

[2] Plavchan, 137-38.

[3] Interview with William J. Vollmar, manager, Archives and Records Administration, Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc., telephone, 13 October 2000.

[4] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 292; Stewart H. Holbrook, *Dreamers of the American Dream*, Mainstream of America Series, ed. Lewis Gannett (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), 105.

[5] Plavchan, 196; "King of Bottled Beer," 102; "Kolassal," *Time*, 6 December 1926, 35.

[6] Plavchan, 202-8; Roland Krebs with Percy J. Orthwein, *Making Friends is Our Business: 100 Years of Anheuser-Busch* (The Cuneo Press, Inc., 1953), 125-134.

[7] "King of Bottled Beer," 100; Krebs and Orthwein, 100; Plavchan, 161, 166.

[8] Plavchan, 19.

[9] Holland, 171.

[10] Plavchan, 34.

[11] Plavchan, 92-3.

[12] "King of Bottled Beer," 49.

[13] Visitor Center display, Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc., One Busch Place, St. Louis, Mo.; Plavchan, 93-4.

[14] "Anheuser-Busch Fact Sheet," 10.

[15] "Anheuser-Busch Fact Sheet," 14-15; Plavchan, 94.

[16] Plavchan, 96.

[17] Kingsdale, 474, 477.

[18] Plavchan, 114.

[19] Kingsdale, 475.

[20] Kingsdale, 472.

[21] Holland, 172.

[22] Holland, 173.

[23] "King of Bottled Beer," 42; Kingsdale, 473.

[24] "Kolassal," 36.

[25] "Anheuser-Busch Fact Sheet," 16.

[26] Odegaard, 263; Andrew Sinclair, *Era of Excess: A Social History of the Prohibition Movement*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 111.

[27] Plavchan, 143.

[28] Holland, 177; Sinclair, 116.

[29] "Bismarck: Budweiser Means Moderation," 1914, Acct # 1997.174, Anheuser-Busch Corporate Archives.

[30] Plavchan, 133, 142.

[31] Plavchan, 158-59; "King of Bottled Beer," 100; Krebs and Orthwein, 96.

[32] Mary Louise Brown, "The Stork and Anheuser-Busch Imagery, 1913-1933," *Gateway Heritage*, Fall 1988, 20.

[33] Plavchan, 160.

[34] Plavchan, 161; Krebs and Orthwein, 100; "King of Bottled Beer," 100.

[35] "King of Bottled Beer," 100.

[36] *Bev. Tatler*, April, 1921, 9.

[37] "King of Bottled Beer," 100; August A. Busch, Jr., *"Budweiser": A Century of Character* (New York: The Newcomen Society in North America, 1955), 15; Plavchan, 162.

[38] Plavchan, 165.

[39] Plavchan, 164.

[40] "King of Bottled Beer," 100; Plavchan, 166.

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[41] August A. Busch, "What Else Can We Make?" *Factory and Industrial Management*, May 1929, 961.
[42] Plavchan, 194.
[43] Plavchan, 192.
[44] Plavchan, 169-175.
[45] Busch, "What Else Can We Make?," 961.
[46] Plavchan, 198-199.
[47] "A Legacy of Quality," Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc., 1998, 4. [annual report insert]
[48] Plavchan, 200; "Kolossal," 36.
[49] "King of Bottled Beer," 100.
[50] Krebs and Orthwein, 125.
[51] *Bevo Tatler*, February 1919, 2-3.
[52] *Bevo Tatler*, February 1919, 3.
[53] *Bevo Tatler*, February 1919, 19.
[54] *Bevo Tatler*, February 1919, 10-11.
[55] *Bevo Tatler*, February 1919, 12.
[56] *Bevo Tatler*, March 1919, 5.
[57] *Bevo Tatler*, March 1919, 21.
[58] *Bevo Tatler*, May 1919, 10-11.
[59] *Bevo Tatler*, June 1919, 10-11.
[60] *Bevo Tatler*, June 1919, 19.
[61] *Bevo Tatler*, June 1919, 19.
[62] Christine Frederick, "Teach Women What Advertising Does," *Printers' Ink*, 10 June 1920, 178.
[63] *Bevo Tatler*, July 1919, 12-13.
[64] *Bevo Tatler*, July 1919, 8.
[65] *Bevo Tatler*, July 1919, 8.
[66] *Bevo Tatler*, October 1919, 17.
[67] *Bevo Tatler*, December 1919, 3.
[68] *Bevo Tatler*, December 1919, back cover.
[69] See, for example, G. A. Nichols, "One Soft Drink Manufacturer Finds Prohibition Makes His Task Harder," *Printers' Ink*, 20 May 1920, 96.
[70] *Bevo Tatler*, September 1921, 2.
[71] *Bevo Tatler*, December 1919, 4-5.
[72] Krebs and Orthwein, 123; Plavchan, 178.
[73] *Bevo Tatler*, June 1920, 10-11.
[74] *Bevo Tatler*, July 1920, 10-11; August 1920, 10-11.
[75] *Bevo Tatler*, December 1920, 5.
[76] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, June 1922, 10-11.
[77] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, June 1922, 10-11.
[78] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, August 1922, 10-11.
[79] *Bevo Tatler*, December 1920, 10-11.
[80] *Bevo Tatler*, December 1920, 10-11.
[81] *Bevo Tatler*, December 1920, 2.
[82] *Bevo Tatler*, October 1921, 12.
[83] *Bevo Tatler*, April 1920, 6.
[84] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, May 1922, 13.
[85] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, May 1922, 14-15.
[86] *Bevo Tatler*, August 1920, 19; April 1920, 7.
[87] *Bevo Tatler*, August 1919, 8; September 1919, 9.
[88] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, March 1922, 16.
[89] *Bevo Tatler*, April 1919, 2.
[90] *Bevo Tatler*, April 1920, 9.
[91] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, April 1923, 6, 8; July 1923, 4.
[92] *Bevo Tatler*, April 1919, 5.
[93] *Bevo Tatler*, May 1919, 5.

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[94] *Bevo Tatler*, May 1919, 8.
[95] *Bevo Tatler*, May 1919, 8.
[96] *Bevo Tatler*, February 1920, 9.
[97] *Bevo Tatler*, March 1920, 12.
[98] *Bevo Tatler*, March 1920, 4.
[99] *Bevo Tatler*, March 1920, 4, 8, 10-11.
[100] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, November 1922, 11.
[101] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, November 1922, 11.
[102] *Bevo Tatler*, April 1920, 3; May 1920, 3, 12; January 1921, 17.
[103] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, August 1921, 3,5.
[104] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, May, 1922, back cover; August, 1922, 14-15; March, 1923, 16; December, 1924, 11.
[105] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, December, 1924, back cover.
[106] Plavchan, 183-86.
[107] *Anheuser-Busch Tatler*, December 1924, 3.
[108] Plavchan, 196; "King of Bottled Beer," 102, "Kolossal," 35.
[109] Plavchan, 200, 199.
[110] "Anheuser-Busch Fact Sheet," 11.
[111] "Anheuser-Busch Fact Sheet," 13.
[112] Interview with Mary Louise Brown, Curator of Collections/Archivist, Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc., 9 November 2000.
[113] Anheuser-Busch corporate web site: www.anheuser-busch.com/overview, 23 March 2001, 1.
[114] Anheuser-Busch telephone information line: 1-800-DialBud, 23 March 2001; Anheuser-Busch corporate web site: www.anheuser-busch.com/news/q42000, 23 March 2001, 3.

History

"STILL THE MANAGER…IN LETTER AND SPIRIT": ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP AND THE *EAST OREGONIAN*

Jon Arakaki
School of Journalism and Communication
University of Oregon
jarakaki@darkwing.uoregon.edu

Introduction

On January 20, 1882, L.B. Cox, owner of the *East Oregonian* (Pendleton, Oregon) wrote his farewell editorial, indicating he was turning over the reins of the newspaper to "young men of ability and high standing in the community where they are well known."[1] One of these men was twenty-one year old Charles Samuel (C.S) Jackson, a stage agent who had moved to Pendleton from Middlesex County, Virginia. Jackson learned the various aspects of the newspaper business, and after twenty years, decided it was time for a change. On July 24, 1902, the *East Oregonian* [*E.O.*] ran the headline, "PORTLAND JOURNAL IS NOW IN NEW HANDS," explaining that owner/editor Jackson had purchased the *Journal* and would be moving to Portland (Oregon) to run the newspaper.[2] The *Journal*, the article maintained, would "be conducted differently in many ways as to men, measures and methods from the narrow grooves of general newspaper habit."[3]

In one sense, the move from Pendleton to Portland signaled the end of one era, and beginning of another for Jackson. Yet, the ties between the *E.O.* and Jackson were not completely severed. Jackson kept a one-third interest in the newspaper and continued to manage it from Portland by way of letters and occasional visits.[4] Although he was not there in person, he wanted it known he was still in charge. In a letter written two years after he left Pendleton, Jackson reminded the staff, "I am still the manager of the E.O. in letter and spirit."[5]

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[1] *East Oregonian*, 20 January 1882.
[2] *East Oregonian*, 24 July 1902.
[3] ~~Ibid~~.

This study examines a collection of sixty-nine letters written from C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, circulation manager of the *E.O.* from 1902-1906. The letters provide a unique perspective on the business of newspapers: the transition from face-to-face to long distance management. Ultimately, what the letters represent are Jackson's changing role from the local owner/editor of a small town newspaper to an absentee majority owner who communicated primarily through letters. Whereas he previously had tight control over daily operations, content, and production of the *E. O.*, he now managed mainly by reacting to the finished product. His contribution to the newspaper was changing, and the letters reflect this transition.

Other newspaper owners, such as E.W. Scripps, also utilized the management-by-mail method and have received historical attention.[6] However, Jackson's situation appeared to be slightly different—he had been part or sole owner of the *E.O.* from ages twenty-one to forty-one, thus, had literally grown up with the newspaper and witnessed the growth and development of Pendleton. As such, he had a professional, personal, as well as financial attachment to the *E.O.* Jackson's "creation" was now hundreds of miles away, and day to day operations were left in the hands of others. Portland and Pendleton are separated by 210 miles, which meant an 8½ hour train ride in the early 1900s. This made frequent visits impractical, and detailed letters were the best form of communication. These factors surrounding the letters are worthy of examination, and another reason why the collection is a valuable addition to the business aspects of journalism history.

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[4] Gordon Macnab, *A Century of News and People in the East Oregonian, 1875-1975.* (Pendleton, OR: East Oregonian Publishing Company, 1975).

[5] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 7 September 1904, C.S. Jackson Papers, Special Collections, Knight Library, University of Oregon.

[6] For example, Gerald J. Baldasty, *E.W. Scripps and the Business of Newspapers.* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1975); Clifford Weigle, "The Young Scripps Editor: Keystone of E.W.'s 'System,'" *Journalism Quarterly* (Summer 1964).

The compelling narrative found in the letters also reflect a newspaper caught in the changing business climate, transforming from small town, frontier newspaper to a product of the modern press.[7] Alfred McClung Lee noted that during this period, the "managemental structure of dailies came to resemble more and more that of other large manufacturing establishments."[8] When Burt Huffman, editor of the *East Oregonian* encouraged Lockley to leave Salem, Oregon to work permanently for the newspaper at the end of 1902—he had been soliciting subscriptions for both the *Portland Evening Journal* and the *East Oregonian*—Huffman played up the fact that Pendleton was growing due to the new railroad line and would offer great opportunity. Huffman also wrote that ultimately Lockley would have to decide what was best for himself career-wise because, "[b]usiness is business and must be the first consideration, in as much as this is a commercial age."[9]

It is not clear exactly why Jackson left Pendleton to take over the *Portland Evening Journal.* However, one reason may be a letter he received from the *Journal*'s editor, John E. Lathrop. On June 23, 1902, one month before Jackson took over, Lathrop wrote him an SOS letter, claiming the newspaper was losing $1000 to $2000 a month.[10] Lathrop had previously worked under Jackson for the *East Oregonian* as editor from 1895-1897, and was familiar with Jackson's ability to run a profitable newspaper. The letter, in which Lathrop asked that the information remain confidential, stated there was currently a "crisis" at the *Journal*, and immediate action would need to be taken. The owner of the newspaper had entered into initial discussions with E.W. Scripps and apparently Lathrop was not pleased with the prospect of working for the chain-building publisher. He wrote Jackson, "As I understand it, this man Scripps has plenty of capital, and if once here will remain permanently in control."[11] Lathrop expressed concern with Scripps' supposed motto of "retrenchment and reform," and urged Jackson to come to Portland, intervene in the current negotiations, and purchase the newspaper.

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[7] William E. Huntzicker, "The Frontier Press, 1800-1900," in *The Media in America: A History*, eds. William David Sloan and James D. Startt (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 1999).
[8] Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument* (New York: The Macmillan Corporation, 1937), 206.

Jackson moved to Portland to run the newspaper, whether because of Lathrop's appeal for help or other factors, and continued a career that would make him one of the most influential individuals in the history of Oregon journalism.[12] One day after the initial announcement in July 1902 of the *Portland Evening Journal*'s new ownership, Jackson changed the name of the newspaper to the *Oregon Journal*, and changed its future as well. The Portland newspaper market had been dominated by the jointly-owned *Oregonian* and Portland *Telegram*, which made the situation difficult for fledgling enterprises such as the

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[9] Burt Huffman to Fred Lockley, 28 December 1902, C.S. Jackson Papers, Special Collections, Knight Library, University of Oregon.

[10] John E. Lathrop to C.S. Jackson, 23 June 1902, C.S. Jackson Papers, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

[11] Ibid.

[12] George Turnbull, *History of Oregon Newspapers*. (Portland, OR: Binfords & Mort, Publishers, 1939).

Portland Evening Journal.[13] Within six months of Jackson's taking over, advertising receipts rose from $1774.98 to $8319.70 a month and average daily circulation figures went from 4900 to 6200.[14] By March 1905, the daily circulation had reached 20,054.[15] Much has been, and still could be, written about the rise of the *Oregon Journal* after the arrival of Jackson.[16] This paper, however, focuses on the relationship he maintained with the community newspaper he left behind, the *East Oregonian.*

Framework

The difficulty in examining the letters came from finding a suitable framework in which to characterize the themes. Originally, the letters were viewed as evidence of a newspaper attempting to survive on the Western frontier.[17] However, there were factors that warranted a slightly different perspective in viewing the letters and Jackson's situation.

One component of the business history of newspapers allows inquiry into management, production, and the relationship between different segments of the organization.[18] When Jackson left Pendleton for Portland, he set up a staff of Burt Huffman as editor, Fred Lampkin as business manager, Charles Sampson as advertising manager, and Fred Lockley as circulation manager. Historian George Everett pointed out that at the end of the 1800s, the "old-time newspaper, driven by a dynamic editorial personality, was beginning its evolution into the market-driven mass medium of the twentieth century. Inevitably, the roles of publisher, ad manager, and circulation manager took on increasing significance."[19] Lincoln Steffens wrote in 1897, that "the circulation manager of to-day is so new that not much in known about him, and on some papers he is not distinctly differentiated from the superintendent of delivery, out of whom he evolves."[20]

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[13] The *Portland Evening Journal* printed its first issue on March 10, 1902, and was in financial trouble within three months.

[14] Board of Directors meeting minutes, 12 November 1902, Oregon Historical Society.

[15] Board of Directors meeting minutes, March 1902, Oregon Historical Society.

[16] For example, Turnbull, *History of Oregon Newspapers*; Marshall Dana, *The First 50 Years of the Oregon Journal: A Newspaper Journal 1902-1952* (Portland, OR: Portland Journal, 1951).

[17] Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier*. (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 1992).

[18] Carol Smith and Carolyn Stewart Dyer, "Taking Stock, Placing Orders: A Historiographic Essay on the Business History of the Newspaper," *Journalism Monographs* 132, April 1992.

Based on Jackson's transition to absentee ownership, a suitable framework to survey the letters was found in the use of role theory, as defined by Parsons, Finnegan, and Benham.[21] Role theory was defined as the "effort of the journalist to satisfy the various expectations about his or her role" within three spheres of influence: the organization, the geographic community, and professional norm.[22] Although the theory was discussed in both sociological and management/organizational literature, the latter group was a better fit.[23]

Role was defined as "a set of behavioral expectations attached to a position within a social structure," and "is a socialization process that takes place through communication."[24] Communication could be informal and personal, as with employee feedback, or formal and impersonal, as with an orientation lecture or a company memo.

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[19] George Everett, "The New Age of Journalism, 1883-1900," in *Mass Media in America: A History*, eds. William David Sloan and James D. Startt (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 1999) 239.

[20] Lincoln Steffens, "The Business of a Newspaper," *Scribner's Magazine* 22 (October 1897) 463.

[21] Patrick R. Parsons, John Finnegan, Jr., and William Benham, "Editors and Their Roles," in *Press Concentration and Monopoly: New Perspectives on Newspaper Ownership and Operation,* eds. Robert G. Picard, Maxwell E. McCombs, James P. Winter, and Stephen Lacy (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1988).

[22] Ibid., 92.

[23] Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1983); Peter L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective.* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1963); John M. Lavine and Daniel B. Wackman, *Managing Media Organizations: Effective Leadership of the Media.* (New York and London: Longman Group Ltd., 1988).

In Jackson's case, the instructions in his letters were influenced by his position as the "voice" of the organization, the need to maintain professional, journalistic standards, and his perceived role of the *East Oregonian* in the community. He addressed the organization with his discussions on profitability, cost cutting and general business philosophies; he addressed the professional sphere when he pointed out typographical errors and the drab look of the advertisements; and he addressed the responsibility to the community when he discussed the newspaper's lack of "fighting spirit." The letters contained both informal and formal communication. At times he commented on Lockley's performance and discusses family life, but most of the letters were precursors to the modern office memo and contained very specific instructions on how a newspaper should be run.

Jackson was not only adjusting to absentee ownership, but also to a growing and relatively new type of staff. These various elements combined to form a unique situation as Jackson shifted to his new and changing roles. The period was not only a transition to a new century but was also a time of change for newspapers and the newspaper industry. Jackson's letters provided a glimpse into these changes as well as his thoughts, beliefs, and personality.

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[24] Parsons, Finnegan, and Benham, "Editors and their Roles," 92.

Jackson and Lockley

C.S. Jackson (1860-1924) was born on September, 15, 1860, on his father's plantation in Middlesex County, Virginia.[25] At nineteen, he left for Portland, Oregon, and ended up in Pendleton, eventually earning $40 a month as a stage agent for the Utah, Idaho, and Oregon Stage Company, which ran a line between Portland and Boise, Idaho. According to George Turnbull, Jackson was supposedly offered the job "because the employer thought he was as homely as Abraham Lincoln and believed such an uncompromising looking youngster must, after all, be good for something."[26] After telling his father of the job and the monthly salary, his father wrote back, "Don't take the money, Sam--you're not worth it."[27]

The *East Oregonian* was founded on October 16, 1875 by M.P. Bull, six years before the town of Pendleton was incorporated. Jackson took over the newspaper on January 20, 1882, along with silent partner J.A. Guyer. He had actually bought a quarter interest in the paper the previous year, selling it back for a $250 profit, before taking over for good. He started out by doing the work of bookkeeper, editor, circulation manager, and advertising manager, an experience that would prepare him for greater responsibilities down the road.[28] Jackson felt the only way to prevent public abuses was to publicize them, start a discussion, and propose a remedy in his editorials. According to Gordon Macnab, until Jackson took over, the newspaper was run by lawyers, who "gave it parttime attention, accepted violence and rowdyism as normal attributes of any town and used the newspaper as an extension of their own limiting prejudices."[29] Fred Lockley later recalled that Jackson made the *East Oregonian* "the most feared, the most respected, the best known and the best loved paper in the Inland Empire [Umatilla County, Northeast Oregon]."[30]

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[25] Fred Lockley, *The Story of the Journal: A Picture Story of How a Great Newspaper is Made...and a Bit of its History.* (Portland, OR: The Journal, 192[?]).

[26] Turnbull, *History of Oregon Newspapers,* 317.

[27] Ibid., 26.

[28] Ibid., 318.

Jackson's preoccupation was with the truth, and he told his workers, "Print the truth. Fight for the right. People like a fighting newspaper."[31] He took his own words literally. In 1885, a reader, who was criticized in one of the newspaper's editorials, met Jackson on the street and called him a liar. Jackson slapped him in the face and was subsequently struck with a loaded cane and a barrage of profanities. After the reader was arrested for using profane and abusive language on the streets, Jackson went to his office and immediately drafted an editorial: "The *East Oregonian* is not to be suppressed or closed up by excited and cowardly individuals armed with loaded canes, bludgeons, pistols, guns or even cannons...a man who is afraid of bodily injury and personal attacks is not a newspaper man or capable of becoming one."[32]

Fred Lockley (1871-1958) was originally hired in 1902 to solicit subscriptions for both the *Oregon Journal* and the *East Oregonian*, before working exclusively for the Pendleton paper. Jackson's enthusiasm for his new endeavor was reflected in his first instructions to Lockley:

> I can't pay you much salary to start with, but I'd like you to travel on horseback, in cart or on a bicycle, all over the state, seek out the leading men in every community and tell them what The Journal stands for...I want you to travel through the highways and byways of Oregon and I suggest that you put in the first three months in eastern and central

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[29] Macnab, *A Century of News and People in the East Oregonian*, 2.
[30] Lockley, *The Story of the Journal*, 30.
[31] Macnab, *A Century of News and People in the East Oregonian*, 51.
[32] Ibid., 94.

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> Oregon...[w]hen you have found out what people think of The Journal, don't waste your time in writing me about the complimentary things they say about it--what I want is honest, constructive criticism, so we can improve the paper.[33]

Lockley soon got an indication of Jackson's unpredictable nature. After securing 153 new subscribers for the *Journal*, Lockley expected hearty congratulations, or at the least, a simple note of thanks. Instead, he was chided for obtaining *too many* subscriptions, as Jackson reasoned, "The Journal as yet, is such a wretched excuse for what I am planning to make it--I am afraid people will judge it by what it is, rather than by what it is going to be."[34] The exchange was characteristic of many Lockley would experience in the next twenty-two years.

Lockley was sold a quarter interest in the newspaper in 1904, and the two men continued a business relationship long after both had left Pendleton. The collection consists primarily of letters from Jackson to Lockley, with only three letters from Lockley to Jackson, so it is difficult to determine exactly how he felt as the recipient of the letters. However, one gets a sense of Lockley's situation through Lincoln Steffens' description of another newspaper man, a managing editor who supposedly enjoyed the freedom of working for an absentee proprietor, but was said "to hold his position by his delicate sense of the desires of the owner, who keeps him under constant secret supervision by telegraph."[35]

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[33] Lockley, *The Story of the Journal*, 37.
[34] Ibid., 37.

The Letters

Each of the sixty-nine letters was read and placed into the categories established by role theory: organizational, professional, and community.[36] Several of the letters contained multiple themes, which is why the number of occurrences in the categories exceeded the amount of letters. Occasionally, examples of letters between publisher E.W. Scripps and George Putnam, editor of the Spokane (Washington) *Press*, will be used to provide comparisons to another organization with an absentee proprietor in the same region of the country. The Putnam Papers contain a file of 42 letters, with 31 written by Scripps and 11 by Putnam. These letters were written in 1902-1903, so in terms of time period, they are an appropriate juxtaposition to the letters of C.S. Jackson.

Organization

Most of the letters (54) contained some type of specific instruction, criticism or general philosophy on how the newspaper should be run. Authors John Lavine and Daniel Wackman discussed three strategies for motivating others: 1) Hard strategy, which was aggressive and demanding; 2) Soft strategy, which was polite and pleasant; and 3) Rational strategy, which was logical and relied on facts.[37] Those in power are more likely to use a hard strategy. For the most part, that was the case with Jackson, although he attempted to include the occasional compliment or philosophical adage.

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[35] Steffens, "The Business of a Newspaper," 462.
[36] Parsons, Finnegan, and Benham, "Editors and Their Roles."
[37] Lavine and Wackman, *Managing Media Organizations.*

On July 3, 1903, Jackson opened a letter with a lesson and a bit of encouragement for the future: "Alertness, observation, promptness and intelligence are the requisites for the success of a newspaper. Little things, the small details, are most important and if they are looked after with thoroughness a newspaper will become as substantial as the hills."[38] While Jackson did not appear to be warm and gentle in nature, it appeared he wanted to insure that something was learned from every mistake or lapse in judgment.

The occasional compliment was neither emotional nor overstated, but seemed to fit with Jackson's image as tough and unpredictable, but fair. After noticing a hard-hitting article about the local government, he remarked to Lockley, "You are a hustler sure enough. Your showing is splendid. You are coming out all right."[39] Following a report indicating an exceptionally profitable period, Jackson wrote, "You are proving your worth."[40] It should be noted both comments were made nearly two years after Lockley had joined the organization.

Jackson seemed particularly disturbed when he perceived a lack of planning which led to poor decisions. He had sold his four managers shares in the newspaper, and expected them to treat the business as if it were their own. Although the letter was addressed to Lockley, he once lectured the entire management team by writing, "If you boys can't agree upon a plan you are a 'failure' as newspaper publishers, and had better look out for a purchaser for the 'E.O'...[y]ou are practically sailing the ship without the rudder because you will not thoughtfully agree upon a course. If you persist in this you are liable to strike a rock."[41]

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[38] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 3 July 1903.
[39] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 2 February 1904.
[40] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 9 May 1904.

Gerald Baldasty suggested that by the end of the nineteenth century, publishers were well aware of rising business costs, and made every effort to keep operating expenses low.[42] Although Jackson, as a busy owner running two newspapers, tried to concentrate on the "big picture" and focus on quality and editorial issues, he also never forgot his role as the voice for every aspect of the organization. Just as the modern office manager often keeps track of the amount of Xerox paper or staples being consumed to reduce the cost of supplies, so did Jackson keep an eye on the bottom line. After Lockley wrote a five page letter, Jackson provided him a melodramatic lesson on the principles of economics:

> You write me a letter on five sheets that costs 1/2 cent a sheet. You write on one side of the paper, and on the side on which there is the least blank space. You put on 2-2 cent stamps when if you had written on both sides, two sheets would have carried your letter and you would have saved two cents in postage, etc. A total saving[s] of three sheets of paper, one cent at least, and a two cent stamp, 3 cts in all! See! It will be said this is a little thing, but bear in mind those who are careless and negligent of little savings will be the same with big ones. Money is a virtue; a penny saved is a penny earned. I do not believe in living close and parsimonious, but a man without principles of economy instilled into his whole makeup is handicapped in the race of life.[43]

Even at his worst, though, Jackson appeared to put some thought into his "lectures" and did not get too personal in his criticisms. Compare this to two comments written to George Putnam from E.W. Scripps during the same time period: "I have often been angry enough at you myself to feed you lead pills," and "You are too argumentative and too suspicious. I think you are just giving yourself a little bit of a puff in a kind of a round-about Peculiar Putnam sort of a way."[44] While Jackson may have felt as Scripps did, he usually maintained a level of professionalism in his communication.

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[41] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 12 December 1905.

[42] Gerald Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*, (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

Professional

These letters (14) focused on Jackson's role to keep the level of the *East Oregonian* up to the professional standards of the industry. Although role theory often indicates a conflict between roles, it appeared Jackson's role to maintain professional standards and address the needs of the organization worked hand in hand. Jackson noticed a string of typographical errors in an ad copy, provided Lockley with marked up samples, and wrote, "No newspaper man ever succeeded who did not take interest in every detail that concerned his publication and reading all ads is one 'detail.' Without sharp eyes and 'keeping everlastingly at it,' defects of newspapers will become so apparent the paper will 'die' from its own rotten weight."[45]

Jackson seemed preoccupied with the idea that little things led to big things, and felt his responsibility was to catch these trends at an early stage. He commented on a recent issue, "The ads do not have a very fresh, attractive look. They show inattention to the little details; lack of care in composition and proof ready, etc. Everything has to be watched like a hawk watches to keep the paper from gradually deteriorating."[46] In a

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[43] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 23 August 1903.
[44] E.W. Scripps to George Putnam, 21 November 1902; E.W. Scripps to George Putnam, 10 February 1903, Special Collections, Knight Library, University of Oregon.
[45] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 28 August 1906.
[46] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 16 July 1903.

similar situation, Scripps commented to Putnam on recent issues, but without the attempt to encourage improvement: "Now I see the Spokane *Press* every day. Candidly, I must tell you that it is dull. I am convinced that the reason of its dullness is that your facilities and space are too great."[47]

Although Jackson apparently took his role as quality control manager seriously, he seemed to catch himself towards the end of the letters and attempted to offer an explanation for his criticisms. He attached an article announcing the hiring of a new reporter at the *East Oregonian*, and wrote Lockley, "This is not good reporting. Pronouns 'we,' 'us,' 'our' are used unnecessarily and they should never be used in such connections in news columns. Avoid them in reporting as they are 'countryfied,' 'simple,' 'raw,' and 'childish.' Don't do it again."[48] But at the bottom of the letter, Jackson added, "P.S. These comments are not meant to offend but to keep the E.O. up to the standard of the 'best ever.'"[49] He was perceptive enough to know the price of constant criticism could lead to the loss of valuable employees in the long run.[50]

An example of an unhappy employee is found in a response from George Putnam to E.W. Scripps on November 11, 1902. Putnam, who was part-owner of the franchise he purchased with Scripps, was displeased with the addition of a co-editor who he perceived as a "spy." After threatening to end the partnership with Scripps, he stated, "That you distrust me is shown very plainly...you can afford to burn up men as the engineers of Egypt burn mummies, but the men can't afford to be burnt up unless the stakes are big."[51]

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[47] E.W. Scripps to George Putnam, 28 April 1903.
[48] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 7 November 1905.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Lavine, and Wackman, *Managing Media Organizations*, 199.
[51] George Putnam to E.W. Scripps, 2 November 1902.

One of Scripps' attempts to compliment Putnam came off as half-hearted, and vaguely complimentary. On April 28, 1903, he wrote to Putnam:

> My view is that you have done many things far better than anybody else has ever done, and that up to the present time you appear to have made fewer mistakes than any one else that I have seen in a similar position to your own.
>
> I take to myself a large amount of credit for all this, but still I must say that I think "you will do."[52]

Community

The final category contains letters (6) that reflect Jackson's role in maintaining the *East Oregonian*'s responsibility to the city of Pendleton. Again, this was a city where he spent twenty years as publisher/editor, where he literally fought to write what he believed, and where he worked to eliminate public injustice.

On August 8, 1905, Jackson started a letter to Lockley with several specific instructions, but shifted to matters of larger importance to the community:

> I am a little afraid of the spirit of the East Oregonian. It is bold enough and vigorous but it lacks that spark of liberality, breadth and purpose that all good fights must possess...[i]f the intent of the E.O. is really pitched on a high plane, there is a real desire to accomplish good to the community, not to punish enemies entirely, then it will shine in all you do and the light of victory will shine gorgeously along your pathway and the people, the great body of personal liberty loving ones, will be with you.[53]

In role theory, "the expectations of the community about the appropriate role of an editor and journalist will be different, depending on the particular needs of the area, and those expectations will be communicated, generally by informal means, to the reporter."[54]

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[52] Scripps to Putnam, 28 April 1903.
[53] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 8 August 1905.
[54] Parsons, Finnegan, and Benham, "Editors and Their Roles," 94.

It is clear Jackson felt he knew what the people wanted, and what they needed. He remarked to Lockley, with a bit of a sense of humor, "The people like a fighting paper as well as a fighting person--people, paper, and person--[a]lliterative isn't it?"[55]

Jackson also seemed to feel the paper would best serve the community by being "fair," which he mentions on many occasions. After reading an article on local politicians that addressed both sides of a conflict, he was apparently pleased, and wrote, "A paper that will be 'fair,' will secure the confidence of the public and earn their support."[56] A few weeks later, he reminded Lockley, "Now keep the E.O. free and fair...accurate, alert...and nothing in the country will be better for you all."[57] Three months later, he once again expressed approval with the content of the newspaper, and commented, "Push ahead, you are bound to win, for your reason to be right, you are free and you aim to be fair."[58]

Discussion

The most striking features of the letters are the apparent time, thought, and effort put into them. There are indications in the letters to Lockley that Jackson was also writing to other managers such as Huffman and Lampkin. It is not known if the letters to Lockley in the collection are complete, but letters were written roughly every two weeks, and were usually one 8 1/2" X 11" sheet long, or several 8 1/2" X 6 1/2" sheets long. If the same type of correspondence were conducted with the other managers, it is amazing Jackson had the time to run a busy, metropolitan newspaper such as the *Oregon Journal*. The *East Oregonian* offered a daily, a semi-weekly, and a weekly, and was eight pages long. In August 1902,The *Oregon Journal* was a daily that ran eight pages long, although within a year there was also a weekly and a semi-weekly that ran up to twenty-four pages.

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[55] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 6 June 1905.
[56] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 2 February 1904.
[57] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 14 February 1904.

In the letters, Jackson occasionally indicated he would be visiting Pendleton, often to handle some of the more delicate personnel matters in person, or to discuss the purchase of major equipment. But his main form of communication appeared to be the letters in the collection.[59] Initially, each letter was typed neatly on blue stationery stamped with the *Portland Journal* logo, although within a month of taking over, he was typing on new *Oregon Journal* stationery. After about the first year, though, every letter was handwritten on paper of various colors and sizes, and occasionally, various shapes. It may have been that he wrote faster than he typed, and no longer had the time to compose on the typewriter.

One thing the letters cannot demonstrate is Lockley's reaction as he received the letters or his facial expression as he read them. It would be interesting to know whether he took each word seriously, or whether he merely rolled his eyes after each lengthy sermon, thinking, "Here we go again." Verbal praise or reprimand from management to employee presents more of an impact by the nature of the delivery rather than the content. In written form, the words are all that matter, and whether good or bad, can be read repeatedly to reinforce its message.

There is evidence, however, that there were occasional misunderstandings. After apparently receiving a threatening response to one of his letters from Lockley, Jackson wrote on May 19, 1903, "Sometimes I am misunderstood and this is an instance…[a]t the

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[58] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 9 May 1904.

[59] The city of Pendleton set up a telegraph system in 1883, and a telephone system in 1889, so perhaps Jackson communicated via these means as well.

present time you are not quite certain of me."[60] Jackson also took a strange delight in the harsh response from Lockley, and wrote, "A man that would not protest against an insult, or what is supposed to be one, lacks manhood, hence I am not offended by the threatening tone of your letter. I have enjoyed it."[61]

It is also difficult to determine how the residents of Pendleton felt about Jackson's move to Portland, as well as his absentee management. Sidney Kobre noted that "some of the smaller communities resented control of their dailies by men living elsewhere...it is argued that owners of the Hearst, Paul Block and Scripps-Howard papers had no more direct interest in the city than owners of chain cigar stores."[62] It appeared that Jackson had more than a passing interest in the city of Pendleton, which may have diminished any type of resentment. Shortly after Jackson's death, in December 1924, an editorial in the *East Oregonian* stated, "Though Mr. Jackson had been away for many years and had no direct concern in affairs here he never lost interest in his old town and its welfare."[63]

Chronologically, Jackson started addressing the needs of the organization immediately after leaving Pendleton. The first letters addressing professional standards appeared about six months later, at the beginning of 1903. The *East Oregonian*'s responsibility to the community is first discussed about a year and a half after he arrived in Portland, in February 1904. At first glance, this may appear to indicate Jackson placed a low priority on his obligation to the city of Pendleton and the role of the newspaper in the community. However, it probably reflected a pragmatic need to insure the *East*

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[60] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 19 May 1903.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Sidney Kobre, *Modern American Journalism*, (Tallahassee, FL: Institute of Media Research, Florida State University, 1959), 9.
[63] *East Oregonian*, 29 December 1924.

Oregonian was running efficiently, capturing a sufficient amount of advertising revenue, increasing circulation, and turning a profit. A newspaper that shut down due to bankruptcy was certainly of no benefit to the community and this was, after all, the "commercial age." There is also the possibility he addressed different issues with different managers.

One question that arises from role theory is "whether structural changes in the organization will lead to changes in commitment levels, not just for the organization, but for professional and community sources as well."[64] In Jackson's case, transition from in-person to absentee proprietor must have affected his commitments, merely because his attentions were spread over a wider range of affairs, and time and distance separated him from Pendleton and the *East Oregonian*. The letters do not indicate whether he was suffering any internal turmoil over the sudden changes, but they do demonstrate an attempt to balance all three roles and commitments and to insure that the needs of all three were met. To add to the complexity of Jackson's situation, the business aspects of running a newspaper were coming to the forefront, and revenue was as important as editorial content. As Lincoln Steffens noted towards the end of the nineteenth century, "[I]f the advertising manager makes up his mind that the Sunday paper is a bad thing it will have to go, since his department is the final court for the settlement of all business questions. No newspaper can live without the revenue from advertisements."[65]

Indeed, Jackson probably did not know whether or not the *East Oregonian* would continue to be successful after his absence or if he would be able to save the struggling

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[64] Parson, Finnegan, and Benham, "Editors and Their Roles," 96.
[65] Steffens, "The Business of a Newspaper," 464.

Portland Evening Journal. In the first letter in the collection, Jackson wrote on July 31, 1902, "Those who stand by me at this hour of trial and trouble will be remembered in the hour of success."[66] Although the wording is characteristically optimistic, the fact he had to make this statement indicates the fragile nature of the times. Jackson, though, built the *Journal* up from the ashes and competed fiercely with the *Morning Oregonian* and the *Evening Telegram.*[67] The *East Oregonian* continues to be published, nearly one-hundred and twenty years after Jackson first took over the newspaper. As the letters demonstrate, these successes were possible because Jackson was able to overcome changing roles, absentee ownership, and the transition to a new age of newspapers, and do so on his own terms and in a style shaped by his unique life experiences.

Conclusion

Like a Victorian melodrama, the last letters in the collection closed with Jackson and Lockley bickering over Lockley's decision to leave the organization, and the business and financial implications of this decision. Jackson attempted to block Lockley's departure and Lockley threatened legal action if he were not allowed to leave. Jackson wrote, "NO one concerned wants you to 'pull out' and if you do it will injure the value of the whole proposition and proportionately affect the value of your interest."[68] But it did not change matters. In the last line of the last letter, Jackson indicated he would travel to Pendleton so the two men could speak face to face.

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[66] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 31 July 1902.
[67] Turnbull, *History of Oregon Newspapers.*
[68] C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley, 16 November 1906.

Unlike most melodramas, though, this one continued after the final scene. Lockley did leave the *East Oregonian* and Pendleton, but eventually joined Jackson's editorial staff at the *Oregon Journal* in 1910 and served as World War I correspondent in France in 1918. His obituary claimed he conducted over 10,000 interviews and would forever be known as the "Journal Man."[69]

Jackson sold his one-third share of the stock in the *East Oregonian* in 1913, but kept two shares for "sentimental reasons."[70] He had a nervous breakdown in 1919, after his oldest son Francis died at sea and his hero, President Woodrow Wilson, suffered a stroke within months of each other. The day to day operations of the *Oregon Journal* were left to his son Philip, and at the time of his death in 1924, daily circulation had been built to 88,758, a far cry from the 4900 he started with in 1902 .[71] After news of Jackson's death made national news, W.W. Hawkins, general manager of Scripps-Howard newspapers in New York, wrote to Philip, "By his great foresight and energy he built one of the country's greatest newspaper properties…"[72]

In writing a tribute to Jackson and his accomplishments, Lockley described his impressions after their first meeting: "He struck me as a very unusual, forceful and original character—I couldn't quite make him out. I accepted his proposition [for employment] so as to study him and learn about him, for, from the very first, I had faith in him."[73] Lockley probably never did "make him out"—but he almost certainly learned from Jackson through his letters and personal contact. John E. Lathrop, who originally to wrote to Jackson in

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[69] *Oregon Journal,* 16 October 1958.

[70] *East Oregonian,* 29 December 1924.

[71] Dana, *The First 50 Years of the Oregon Journal.*

[72] *Oregon Journal*, 29 December 1924.

[73] Lockley, *The Story of the Journal,* 36.

1902, encouraging him to thwart the impending purchase of the *Portland Evening Journal* by E.W. Scripps, summarized the traits of the colorful Jackson at the end of his career: "[A] man of personal eccentricities, of delightfully raconteur tendencies, and yet of absolutely masterful business grasp and of vast powers of civic endeavor."[74]

The sixty-nine letters of C.S. Jackson to Fred Lockley are a seemingly small and insignificant collection, written between two relatively unknown newspapermen in the Pacific Northwest. But based on the nature of the letters, and times in which they were written, they become an important slice of history, and documents of transition during a period of a new century, different attitudes, and the growth of business and industry. They also provided an intimate look at how one absentee owner dealt with the transition of a community newspaper from what was once a hands-on proprietorship to an outpost of management.

The framework of role theory provided the opportunity to examine the letters in a way that went beyond mere chronology, and helped to explore an important figure and place him in the context of his changing times. Parsons, Finnegan, and Benham claimed the theory places emphasis on "the effect of organizational structure on individual communicators."[75] As such, it provided a glimpse into a seldom-visited chapter in journalism history, and offered the possibility of using a similar framework for other situations and periods of transition. Further use of the theory could include an examination of the impact of role expectations and changing ownership on newspaper content–specifically, the editorials and the editorial page.[76] This research could serve as a reminder that management and organizational structure may have as great an effect on the final product as the individuals who create it.

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[74] John Lathrop, "Jackson Retires After 40 Years in Field," *Editor and Publisher* v.56 n.40, 1 March 1924.
[75] Parsons, Finnegan, and Benham, "Editors and their Roles," 92.

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[76] For example, see F. Dennis Hale, "Editorial Diversity and Concentration" in *Press Concentration and Monopoly: New Perspectives on Newspaper Ownership and Operation*, eds. Robert G. Picard, Maxwell E. McCombs, James P. Winter, and Stephen Lacy (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1988).

RUNNER UP – BEST FACULTY PAPER, HISTORY DIVISION – 2001

A "Legion of Decency" for 1950s TV? The Catholic Morality Code that didn't happen.

By
Bob Pondillo,
Assistant Professor

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College of Mass Communication
Middle Tennessee State University
Box 58
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Phone: 615-904-8465
E-mail: pondillo@mtsu.edu

Presented Tuesday, August 7, 2001 -- History Division , Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication 2001 Annual Convention, Washington, DC.

A "Legion of Decency" for 1950s TV? The Catholic Morality Code that didn't happen.

In the mid-1930s and lasting over three decades the Catholic Church's Legion of Decency had the power to control the content of American movies. Fearing government censorship, studios permitted the Legion to alter any film that did not pass moral muster. With the emergence of postwar network television, these same moral guardians sought to extend their powers of censorship to TV. It was argued television technology could bypass traditional authority and broadcast without control directly into the living rooms of American families – the bedrock upon which the republic rested. Without strict moral regulation, went the bromide, television could very well be the undoing of the "American way," and even make the country susceptible to communist control. By reviewing key Catholic Church documents, this work considers how close the church came to creating a Catholic Morality Code for TV – a Legion of Decency for television – and explains why it didn't happen.

Television was powerfully intriguing to postwar America, evident by the TV buying boom: an average of 6.3 million sets were sold *per year* from 1950-59 (see table 1). By decade's end a phenomenal 67 million televisions were plugged-in to nearly 44 million TV households, and 86 percent of Americans viewed about five hours of programming per day. No other technology achieved such rapid diffusion throughout any culture in so short a time.[1]

As the number of TV sets grew so did a ground swell of public opinion calling for regulation of the broadcast industry. In fact, in every decade from1950-1990 there has been some sort of formal Congressional comment, resolution, or major hearing on specific legislation to control network television programming (see table 2). Each proposed piece of legislation was preceded by testimony from the public and representatives of broadcast networks.[2] One reason for this seems to be "television's pedigree." Since it was generally considered radio had been "lost" to program sponsors and ad agencies, activists sought to avoid repetition of that loss. Second, television's early history as an East coast, tavern-based entertainment form, linked its programming with a "less cultural element of the public."[3] Mathew Murray,[4] Lynn Spigel,[5] and William Boddy[6] have written that New York produced television was too "excessively adult" for the tastes of many viewers.

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[1] Erik Barnouw, Image Empire: History of Broadcasting the United States, Volume III (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), .65-80; Television Factbook 1960, Supplement to Television Digest (Radnor, PA: Triangle Publications, 1960), 18; Cobbert Steinberg, TV Facts (New York: Facts on File, 1985), 85-86; Steven Lubar, InfoCulture: The Smithsonian Book of Information Age Inventions (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993), 248.

[2] Congress first held hearings in 1952 and 1954 examining the link between TV violence and the perceived increase in violence in American society. Urban riots and violent crimes were a major concern of Congress in the 1960s. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence concluded a causal link between TV violence and violent behavior. Hearings were held on Mach 12, 19-20, 1969. In 1969 Senator John Pastore, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Commerce, petitioned the Surgeon General to study the impact on TV violence, no legislative action was taken. Pastore also advocated prescreening of TV shows as a way to minimize inappropriate content. In 1972 Surgeon General Jessie Steinfeld released a report linking TV violence to violent behavior. Hearings were held on September 28, 1971, March 21-24, 1972, April 3-5, 1974, February 13, 1996, May 9-11, 1977. In 1975, FCC Chairman Richard Wiley announced agreement with the broadcast networks to reduce the amount of violence in programming, thus making legislative involvement unnecessary. In 1980 Congress passed H.R. 1391/S. 593, exempting the television industry from anti-trust legislation to develop common

Nonetheless, television technology was generally greeted with hopeful anticipation. Despite its lineage, many saw TV as a way to moral and cultural uplift. It was advertised as a "magic box," a "window to the world," except few seemed to realize

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standards to reduce violence on TV. The act "authorized" voluntary action by broadcasters but was seen by the networks as indirect censorship. Hearings were held June 12, 1989. In 1992, Congress enacted the so-called Byrd Amendment that prohibited broadcast of "indecent" programming during certain hours of the day. The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the constitutionality of the Byrd Amendment in June 1995. In 1993, three pieces of legislation were introduced: Senate Bill 1383, Children's Television Violence Protection Act. In 1995, Senate Bill 470, the Children's Protection from Violent Programming Act, promoting the v-chip was introduced. Companion bills were introduced in the House. Hearings were held October 20, 1993, and July 11, 1995 (U.S. House of Representatives Report, 1989.) As the digital era began, the Telecommunications Act of 1996 (replacing the Telecommunications Act of 1934) had little to do with programming per se but would directly affect delivery of programming in the future. (See Bryan Gruley, John Simons, and John R. Wilke, "Is this Really What Congress Had in Mind with the Telecom Act?" Wall Street Journal, 12 May 1998, p. A1.) McChesney explained, "[t]he core premise of the [Telecom] bill was to eliminate restrictions on firms moving into other communications areas – for example, phone companies moving into cable television and vice versa – and then to eliminate as many regulations as possible on these firms' behavior." (See Robert W. McChesney, Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times (University of Illinois Press: Chicago, 1999), 74.)

[3] "TV and the Taproom Trade," Television Digest, 17 January 1948, 5.

[4] Matthew Murray, "NBC Program Clearance Policies during the 1950s: Nationalizing Trends and Regional Resistance," Velvet Light Trap, Spring 1994, 37-48.

[5] Lynn Spigel, Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[6] William Boddy, Fifties Television: The Industry and its Critics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

the window was facing the inside of a department store! Television *was* a gateway all right, to a consumer lifestyle and the reinforcement of a consumption culture. Not surprisingly the TV networks and their supporters actively promoted positive associations with commercial, network telecasting – a system inherited from radio.

The TV Audience and Censorship

Censorship of TV programming by various pressure groups, government, or broadcasters was based on perceptions each had of the identity and composition of the audience. These groups seemed to conceptualize the viewing public as a monolithic mass, possessing similar experiences, religious beliefs, and moral values. In addition, postwar America's social compulsion was to reconstruct a romanticized, stable, nuclear family unit. Accordingly, contemporary thinking held that television without boundaries would disrupt ideals of parental, family, civic, and church authority. It was deeply believed that such a disruption would contribute to the internal collapse of the United States. The collective common sense of the time said if the family became "softened" by too much materialism and uncontrolled or "perverted" sex, it would be easy prey for infiltration by Communists. If America fell, went the bromide, it would fall from within, and, since the organizing center of American values was the family, that unit had to be protected from the corruption of sin and sexual chaos. Television with its violence, "lewd" jokes and recurrent images of scantily clad women was an unmediated pathway into the heart of the home, and therefore was suspect.

The work of historian Elaine Tyler May found assumptions of gender containment and fears of sexual perversion a dominant motif of the postwar ear. She writes, "[a]ccording to the common wisdom of the time, 'normal' heterosexual behavior culminating in marriage represented 'maturity' and 'responsibility;' therefore, those who were 'deviant' were, by definition, irresponsible, immature and weak. It followed that . . .[those] who were slaves to their passions could easily be duped by . . . the communists."[7] Senator Joseph McCarthy called for a "moral uprising" to defeat the Godless communists whom he saw as "the enemies within."[8] The FBI and J. Edgar Hoover worked to root out the Red Menace in public and private spheres because communism, said Hoover, " was an evil and malignant way of life . . . that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home . . . [That's why] a quarantine is necessary to keep it from infecting the nation."[9] Such questionable logic permeated postwar thought, along with a general sense of ennui that the United States might be losing the Cold War to the Communists.

In this paranoid cultural atmosphere commercial television made its debut. From the beginning it was a medium perceived as having a much too liberal and secular humanist bias. TV could easily short-circuit existing norms by bringing sex and crudeness directly into the *sanctum sanctorum* of the unsuspecting family. Many thought this new technology could undo moral teachings and American values, and sew the seeds of violent revolution. Moreover, much of the government's rhetoric dovetailed with the virulently anticommunist mission of many religious groups, especially the Catholic Church.

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[7] Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 94.

[8] Joseph McCarthy, "Speech at Wheeling West Virginia," in William Chafe and Harvard Sitkoff, Eds., A History of Our Time: Readings on Postwar America, Second Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, 64-67.

[9] Richard Gid Powers, Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover (New York: Free Press, 1987), 288-89

In addition there was a kind of periodic religious revival happening in America following World War II. This was the time of Dwight Eisenhower's presidential prayer breakfasts and his assertion that "our government makes no sense unless it is founded on a deeply felt religious faith." Religious leaders were given prestige and visibility as the nation's moral caretakers. Roadside billboards announced the Ad Council's popular slogan "the family that prays together, stays together." And pray America did with the evangelistic crusades of Billy Graham; Norman Vincent Peale's mass call to the power of faith; and Catholic Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's popular TV program in which he frequently equated Christianity with Americanism. This was also the decade in which a majority in the United States Congress approved (without debate) stamping the phrase "in God we trust" on all U.S. currency, and inserting the words "under God" into the Pledge of

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Allegiance. God and morality were dominant cultural motifs in mid-twentieth century, and belief in religious faith was the key to access the almighty, and fight the Cold War.[10]

Catholics and 1950s Television

In Catholic religious circles there was ambivalence toward television. Some prelates seeking to cast a wide net on a "broadcast congregation" saw TV as an "electronic pulpit," and because television came directly into the living room, others saw an opportunity to reinvigorate the family. *Catholic Weekly* printed, "The American home has been 'breaking up' for a long time. TV could become the great magnet drawing family and neighbors together."[11]

Although many clergy members praised television programming, the overwhelming tenor in published reports was sharply critical. The National Council of Catholic Men (NCCM) wrote, "Dad has been replaced by a television set."[12] Ministers complained that video viewing depleted church attendance. "Vulgarity and immodesty" in programming convinced many religious leaders that TV is "Hell's pipeline into the home."[13] Francis J. Haas, Bishop of Grand Rapids, likened TV to "an intruder . . . [who]

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[10] Ronald J. Oakley, God's Country: America in the Fifties (New York: December, 1986), 86. For a comprehensive discussion of the religious revivals in postwar America, also see Paul Boyer, Promises to Keep: The United Stars Since World War II (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1995); and William H. Chafe, The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[11] Quoted in "Often, when we are afraid," Television Digest, 7 August 1954, 5.

[12] In a telegram from Ed Madden to Jules Herbevaeux, 17 March 1953. NBC Files, box 569, folder 12, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

[13] "Inside Stuff-Television," Variety, 6 December 1950, 3.

like any other sex promoter . . . should be removed to a place where he can do no harm."[14]

Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston, claimed the clergy was besieged by thousands of parishioners to "do something about TV" and chastened Milton Berle, and other ex-vaudevillians turned primetime comedians, to stop their "waste basket entertainment." Cushing also called for those in charge of network programming to "voluntarily censor shows."[15] Such outbursts were typically designed to encourage broadcasters to clean up their own house; seldom was there a call for government censorship, although the editor of *The Catholic World* wrote, " . . . should no action be forthcoming [from broadcasters] . . . then let the Welfare State wrap its warm tentacles around television."[16]

The Waning Influence of the Catholic Legion of Decency

The early 1950s were difficult years for the Legion of Decency (LOD), the Catholic Church's monitoring body for motion pictures[17]. Because of changing societal mores, and the U.S. Supreme Court's 1952 ruling in the so-called *Miracle* Case,[18] the Legion's grip over movie morals was loosening, and TV was acknowledged to be superceding the cinema in social and cultural influence. This development prompted ecclesiastical leaders to advocate extension of LOD oversight to television. This way the

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[14] "St. Louis Clergyman Raps Suds, Ciggies, Sponsors of Ballgames; Hurts Kids," Variety, 23 May 1951, 35; "TV 'Doing Work of the Devil' in Homes via 'Sex Diodes,' Catholic Bishop Asserts," Variety, 9 May 1951, 24 +.

[15] "Boston Prelate Blasts TV Comics for 'Committing (Video) Suicide,'" Variety, 28 February 1951, 26; "Video Censorship," Broadcasting-Telecasting, 5 March 1951, 71+.

[16] "I Believe in Television," The Catholic World, March 1950, 401-405.

[17] For thirty years the Catholic Church's Legion of Decency (LOD) exercised a powerful censorship over Hollywood motion pictures. From 1933 to 1963, film producers changed scenes, excised dialogue, reconfigured movie trailers, and promotional ad copy in order to meet the LOD's moral standards. At its height, the Legion claimed that each week 20 million parishioners learned from the Catholic pulpit, movies to patronize and those to avoid. The threat of economic boycott, however, did not scare the film industry as much as the specter of direct government intervention. Historian Stephen Vaughn has explained there was

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a clear economic incentive for moviemakers to adhere to a Legion-endorsed code of conduct. From 1927-1929 bankers and financiers poured hundreds of millions into the studios expansion and conversion to sound. Clearly, these financial backers wanted to control and protect their investment. Vaughn writes the financiers "saw the Production Code of 1930 as a means to secure their investments because it promised to decrease the number of expensive changes required by government censorship and to curtail the criticism made of film content." See Stephen Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment: The Origins of the Motion Picture Production Code, JAH, June 1980, 58. Vaughn references Tio Balio, ed., American Film Industry, 193; and Upton Sinclair, Upton Sinclair Presents William Fox (Los Angeles, 1933), 97.

[18] Also known as Joseph Burstyn, Inc. v. Wilson, 343 U.S. 485, 72 S.Ct 777(1952). Roberto Rossellini's 1951 film *The Miracle* was released in the United States and subsequently banned as "sacrilegious" by the New York Board of Regents. In the movie, actress Anna Magnani plays a slow-witted woman who imagines St. Joseph had seduced and raped her. The insensitive villagers taunt her saying, considering the father, the birth of her child – which she dramatically delivers in an empty church – is the Second Coming of Christ. When His Eminence Cardinal Spellman heard about the film (he never found the time to see it) he authored an angry pastoral letter condemning the movie and ordered it read at every mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral and at over 400 parishes in the Archdiocese of New York. The Legion of Decency banned it (of course) and Holy Name Societies from all over the state picketed outside the theatre showing the movie. The Catholic picketers yelled, "This is the kind of picture the Communists want!" and "Don't be a Communist – all the Communists are inside!" The Catholic War Veterans swelled the ranks to an estimated thousand, protesting the "Insult to Every Woman Not to Mention Children" This Supreme Court ruling expunged blasphemy from the United States criminal code finding the "vague notion of 'sacrilege' inconsistent with the First Amendment." Such censorship, said Justice Felix Frankfurter, was bound to have "stultifying consequences on the creative process of literature and art." This ruling brought motion pictures under the protection of First and Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court ruled that movies which offend a particular religious group is not sufficient reason to ban them. "Sacrilege," therefore could no longer be grounds for censoring movies. Such a decsion was a clear blow to the Catholic Legion of Decency and the idea of a Legion-like entity that might censor television programs. See Gregory Black, The Catholic Crusade Against the Movies, 1940-1975 (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1997); and Gregory Black, Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics and the Movies (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1994).

Legion could now extend its influence as moral watchdogs of broadcasting "under penalty of sin" for the perfidious.[19]

Many prelates considered the monitoring and regulation of the nascent TV medium to be the prerogative of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman of New York warned that "a man's home is no longer his castle, for the locked door no longer keeps out the trespasser. . . . The moving picture has moved, indeed – it has from a limited number of theatres to millions of private homes where . . . horrors add to the infamy of the massacre of innocents."[20]

By January 1951, reports surfaced that priests in the metropolitan New York area were "advising their congregations on the TV shows considered [morally and ethically] unacceptable," and encouraging the laity to boycott the products manufactured by sponsors associated with those programs.[21]

The great transitional decade of the1950s, writes sociohistorian Alan Ehrenhalt, were times of limited choice conformist standards, and behaviors arising from conscience:

> This was a moral culture much further removed from our own than we have ever stopped to realize . . . . [T]hey believed in the existence of sin . . . [and] lived with good and evil, right and wrong, sins and sinners, in a way that is incomprehensible

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[19] "Catholics Urge Legion of Decency to Clean Up TV programs for Kids," Variety, 14 March 1951, 1+, "Catholic Archbishop Warns Televiewers," Christian Century, 26 December 1951, 1499.
[20] "Cardinal Sees Evil in Films, Radio, TV," New York Times, 2 December 1950, 2.
[21] "Church Censorship of TV programming Seen in Priest's Sermonizing," Variety, 31 January 1951, 1+.

to most of us . . .[22]

The "inertia and timorous conformity [of] an entire generation" marked the period. Ehrenhalt called it "a world for which Wonder Bread and Black and White TV are appropriate symbols."[23] He wrote "most people [of the time] believed, as many of us have ceased to believe, there were natural limits to life. They understood . . . that choice and privacy were restricted commodities, and that authority existed, in large part, to manage the job of restricting them. . . . And they believed in one other important idea that has been lost in decades since: they believed in the existence of sin."[24]

In this remarkable time of conformity and unexpected postwar prosperity, which saw the beginning of the three martini lunch, suburban living, the Cold War, and the so-called "baby boom" (76.4 million born between 1946 and 1964[25]), Americans of the 1950s seemed to be losing many of their old reference points. These were the people that found their life's anchors "in the familiar places: family, religion, and patriotism of the hokiest and most maudlin variety . . . in the Holy Name Society . . . in Bishop Sheen and Walt Disney."[26]

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[22] Alan Ehrenhalt, The Lost City: The Forgotten Virtues of Community in America (Basic Books: Chicago, 1995), 32.

[23] Ibid., 14.

[24] Ibid., 32.

[25] Oakley, God's Country, 85.

[26] Ehrenhalt, The Lost City, 280.

Television's Commercial Motives

This is not to say there was not a sizeable television audience for pornography or the profane at mid-century for indeed there was -- not because no one would watch "but because there were sanctions against their being shown. There was someone in a position of authority – in this case, a censor – who stepped in to overrule the market and declare that some things are too lurid, too violent, too profane for a mass audience to see."[27] In other words, postwar television was less free-market driven than it is today. That notion is key to understanding how censorship operated in the days of early television. At mid-twentieth century there was a clear array of social institutions that stood outside the grip of the market and provided ordinary people with a cushion against it. Implicit in this idea was that broadcast interests were soiled by commercial motives. This appears to be one facet of the most fundamental issue of the period.

While a market-driven economy represented Western democracy, victory over totalitarianism, and common American individualism, more traditional society was still suspicious that an unbridled commercialism would lower the morals and taste of the common rabble. Still, the dominant ideology of the era held that one could not be against commercialism – which was like being against progress – so the TV industry must therefore regulate itself by answering only to the American public and cultivating its support. There is obvious conflict and contradiction in such a plan wrote Murray: the ordinary citizen is mature, decent and informed, but cannot be trusted to make moral choices.[28] This audience is too childlike and needs oversight of some higher, purer body – so long as it's not the government. TV broadcasters endorsed such a notion because of its compatibility with a network-based, sponsor-supported economic structure; a structured labeled the "American System" twenty years earlier by RCA/NBC Chairman General David Sarnoff.[29] The prevailing attitude at NBC was that commercializing "culture" constituted poor taste, however infusing culture in commerce was commendable. But, in the early 1950s many telecasters were struggling to recoup their financial investments in the new medium and regarded programming that appealed to minority interests (and produced no revenue) as a wrong-headed. Given this tension between morality and commerce, TV broadcasters began to realize that the issue might be avoided entirely if offending words and images could be cut or in some way toned down. Hence an equation was drawn between the public interest and certain kinds of programming. Networks had to make sure programs adhered to strict standards and practices to protect the welfare of the citizen and benefit the public good.

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[27] Ibid., 24.

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[28] Matthew Murray, "NBC Program Clearance Policies during the 1950s: Nationalizing Trends and Regional Resistance, " Velvet Light Trap, Spring 1994, 37-48.

[29] David Sarnoff, The American System of Broadcasting and its Function in the Preservation of Democracy, an address presented at the Town Hall Luncheon, Hotel Astor, New York City, 28 April 1938. In this speech Sarnoff declares broadcasting "a personal services business" akin to practices of doctors or lawyers. He equates American capitalism and broadcast network profits with freedom and better programs, as opposed to State run European broadcasting that he calls "propaganda" and links with totalitarianism.

The Long Debate over a TV Code of Morality

For the better part of the 1950s the Catholic Church, under the auspicious of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC),[30] debated the concept of categorizing television programs similar to the Legion of Decency's classification of films. This was no passing idea. The plan was an outgrowth of a resolution adopted at the 1950 convention of the National Council of Catholic Men (NCCM)[31] that called upon the television industry to take steps for its own regulation. At the NCCM's 1951 annual meeting another resolution passed, asking that a pledge be made by broadcasters *and* the viewing public to avoid unwholesome television programs.[32]

The idea of a TV oath was clearly compatible to the annual pledge ritual required by the Legion of Decency, and would be in line with the wishes of the Vatican itself. In his 1936 Encyclical on Motion Pictures (or the *Vigialanti cura*[33]), Pope Pius XI declared: "all Pastor's of souls will undertake to obtain each year from their [parish] a pledge . . . in which [the people of the church] promise to stay away from motion picture[s] . . .

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[30] The National Catholic Welfare Conference was "the agency of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States for the promotion of unity in Catholic work." See Francis I. Nally, "What is the NCCM," National Council of Catholic Men collection, collection 10, NCCM Reports and Proceedings, 1953-1954 file, Catholic University of America, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Washington, D.C.

[31] Ibid. The National Council of Catholic Men was a federation of organizations of Catholic men, and was an arm of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The NCCM was " a common, voluntary federation" strictly dependent upon the American Bishops as declared by Pope Pius XII.

[32] National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service, 27 July 51, "TV Classification Plan Studied by National Council of Catholic Men," in NCNC News Service (Domestic), collection 10, box 35, file 18, Catholic University.

[33] From *Curia Romana*, the administrative body of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, consisting of various departments, courts, officials, etc., each functioning under the authority of the pope.

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offensive to truth and Christian morality."[34] The following vow was spoken in the presence of a priest then signed and returned to the Church:

> I CONDEM indecent and immoral motion pictures, and those which glorify crime or criminals. I PROMISE to do all that I can to strengthen public opinion against the production of indecent and immoral films, and to unite with all who protest against them. I ACKNOWLEDGE my obligation to form a right conscience about pictures that are dangerous to my moral life. As a member of the Legion of Decency, I pledge myself to remain away from them. I promise, further, to stay away from places of amusement which show them as a matter of policy. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.[35]

The new TV pledge would be similar in tone because, wrote NCCM Secretary Robert C. McMahon in a confidential memo, "the lay apostolate, to be really effective, must be infinitely flexible in adapting old methods to the needs of [new] times and places."[36]

McMahon's 1951 surprisingly candid memo to the Episcopal Committee for Motion Pictures, Radio and Television was critical of the NCCM saying, "Catholics have taken comparatively little positive advantage of the vast opportunities offered by television for the dissemination of Christian viewpoints . . . in both entertainment or education." He stressed the "great need for constructive action not only to prevent the *diseases* of the motion picture field from being *communicated* to television, but also to insure that this new force shall not become [a] virtual monopoly of secularist thinking. . . .[A] start has to be made somewhere and it better be soon." To that end McMahon laid out a plan of action for the NCCM.[37]

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[34] Ibid. Francis J. Connell, C.SS.R., "How Should Priests Direct People Regarding the Movies?", The American Ecclesiastical Review, Vol. CXIV, No. 4, April 1946, 242-243. The Pope also said: "Millions of American Catholics signed the pledge of the Legion of Decency, binding themselves not to attend any motion picture which was offensive to Catholic moral principles or to the proper standards of living. We were thus able to proclaim joyfully that few problems of these later times have so closely united the Bishops and the people as the one resolved by co-operation in this holy crusade."

[35] "National Catholic Welfare Conference, "How to Judge the Morality of Motion Pictures," pamphlet, no publication date. NCWC collection 10, box 30, folder 30. NCNC collection 10, box 35, folder 18, Catholic University. On the LOD pledge card spaces were left for the pledge's name, Parish, and Dioceses.

The remarkable two-page memo outlined the establishment of a Film-Television office under the direction of the NCCM. Its duties would be fourfold:

1. Plan, produce. . . distribute . . . encourage and assist others in the planning, production and distribution of worthwhile motion pictures and television programs.
2. Establish and operate a *Television Moral Rating Plan*, which would endeavor to fulfill for the television field much the same function as the Legion of Decency for Motion pictures.
3. Establish a film and television information service or center to provide local broadcasters with the information as to the availability of films, scripts, slides, techniques for panel discussions, etc., to encourage religious broadcasts.

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[36] Ibid. Robert C. McMahon, memo: "The Need for the Coordination of Lay Action in the Fields of Motion Picture and Television, November, 1951, to Episcopal Committee for Motion Pictures, Radio and Television.

[37] Ibid. In the same memo McMahon also complained, "It my well be a source of embarrassment to Catholics that non-Catholics are far ahead in the production and distribution of motion picture and television programs, and . . . what efforts are being made by Catholics along this line are sporadic and unintegrated and therefore not very effective." The Lutheran's, for example, spent nearly a million dollars in 1950 for the Hollywood production of the film *Martin Luther*. For a treatment of how the Luther movie fared on television see the unpublished paper "The Chicago Television Holy Wars of 1956-1957," by the author.

4. Establish . . . facilities for the distribution of . . . films to schools, parishes, and lay organizations.[38]

McMahon argued having the NCCM produce TV shows "is of primary importance because it is direct, positive and concrete and . . . opportunities exist in television today which may not exist a few months from now." He also clearly saw the importance of a moral TV rating plan arguing, "[t]he need for this kind of regulation is all too obvious in television today . . . [and] the need for establishing patterns while the industry is still young can hardly be over emphasized." Such a plan would present viewers with "an acceptable set of criteria for the moral evaluation of television programs . . . with appropriate ecclesiastical guidance." McMahon's vision would also set up national, regional, and local "reviewing boards to classify programs and . . . devise means of giving adequate publicity to these classifications."[39]

The McMahon memo was the opening foray into the thorny area of national morality ratings for television programs. His plan did not recognize regional, cultural or intellectual differences, and conceived of morality as monolithic and catholic. It was obvious the NCCM was mindful of the power of visual communication; McMahon wrote, "[I]t seems beyond question that the motion picture and television fields represent a critically important influence upon modern society," and he saw using television to be "one of the greatest opportunities for effective apostolic work ever presented to the Church."[40]

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

Support for a TV Code of Morality

As Archbishop Richard J. Cushing in Boston criticized TV comics like Milton Berle, Ken Murray and others as "fools . . . because they permit themselves a momentary weakness to cater to the laughter gales of individuals with a perverted sense of humor,"[41] the debate on television content raged in religious, educational, and political circles throughout 1951-52. At their annual conference, Catholic teachers voted for the formation of a Legion of Decency to "clean up" the "off-colored" television programs available to the young, and recommended a survey "to determine how much time children spend with TV."[42]

U.S. Congressmen Thomas J. Lane, citing "hundreds of complaints from constituents, particularly parents and educators" called for an Federal Communications Commission (FCC) administered Federal Censorship Board to clean up television "before it ruins itself and debases everybody with whom it has contact." Lane said TV programming "seems to be plunging down to the primitive state of nudism and the manure pile."[43] The United States Senate Judiciary Committee on Internal Security began closed hearings on "Communist influence" in the broadcast industry as well. *Variety* reported the "House Committee on Un-American Activities had planned to look into radio and TV" but deferred to the Senate inquiry. At the same time, again reacting to constituent and Catholic pressure, Senator William Benton introduced a "bill to establish a National Citizens Advisory Board on television which would report to Congress and the FCC on TV program performance."[44]

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[40] Ibid.

[41] "Boston Prelate Blasts TV Comics for 'Committing (Video) Suicide,'" Variety, 28 February 1951, 26.

[42] "Catholics Urge Legion of Decency to Clean Up TV Programs for Kids," Variety, 14 March 1941, 1.

By July 1951, both the National Society of Television Producers and the National Association of Radio-Television Broadcasters (NARTB) began work on writing separate and specific codes to "clean up TV programs."[45] The NARTB set up five "program standards committees;" "a reviewing body" to interpret the yet-to-be-written standards; and commissioned a nationwide viewers survey to evaluate television. The TV producers offered a litany of proposed dos and don'ts such as: do not glamorize "sin or wrongdoing;" "evil should never be presented alluringly or attractively;" the law of the land "must be upheld;" "high types of characters" should be held up for admiration;

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[43] "TV Censorship Board Proposed, " Variety, 7 March 1951, 56.

[44] "Senate Probes B'cast Industry," Variety, 10 October 1951, 22; "Benton Bill 'Dangerous' to AM-TV Saz Fellows; Threat to Freedom," Variety, 10 October 1951, 22.

[45] In 1949 the Television Broadcasters Association (TBA) discussed drawing up moral regulations but the idea was subsequently abandoned on the assumption that video was still in too much of a development stage to be subjected to stringent laws. The TBA instead circulated copies of the Hays office production code to help guide local broadcasters. Networks, of course, had there own standards and program rules. From "Church Censorship of TV Programming Seen in Priests' Sermonizing," Variety, 31 January 1951, 1+.

"story lines that affect life for the better" should be presented, "all toward creating a better knowledge of life and living, and to develop good conscientious thinking . . . aimed toward the improvement of mankind." The debate continued, and near summer's end the *New York Times* reported the NCCM was now "studying plans to set up a system of classifying television programs similar [to] that used by the Legion of Decency for rating motion pictures."[46] And so it began. The "central office" liaison to the NCCM pushing for a TV Morality Rating System was Monsignor Howard J. Carroll, general secretary to the NCWC.[47]

A meeting was arranged at His Eminence Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman's New York residence on July 11, 1951. Attending that meeting was Martin Quigley, one-time publisher of the *Exhibitors Herald-World*, a Hollywood trade journal, and co-architect (with the Reverend Daniel A. Lord) of the infamous Hays office Motion Picture Production Code.[48]

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[46] "NARTB Special Committee at Work on Code to Clean Up TV Programs," Variety, 1 August 1951, 24; "TV Producers Prep Code to Clean Up Pgms.," Variety, 25 July 1951, 27; "TV May Get Legion of Decency, New York Times, 31 August 1951, 35.

[47] "Monsignor" is a title given to a priest in the Catholic Church. It is sometimes used to distinguish a cleric "between the two sacramental orders of bishop and priest," but its meaning is "parallel to the English *Milord* of the French *Monseignuer*. It is a title of courtesy rather than rank given to some priests to recognize exceptional service to the church." It can be likened to being knighted by a secular monarchy, it does not involve "any specific duties," nor does it have any bearing on the sacrament of Holy Orders. The only difference between a priest and a priest with the "honorary title" of Monsignor is that he's permitted "to wear a purple sash and purple piping . . . on his cassock, a sign of his distinctive proximity to the princely rank." See: Kevin Orlin Johnson, Why do Catholics Do That: A Guide to the Teachings and Practices of the Catholic Church (New York: Ballantine, 1994), 125, 183.

[48] For background on Quigley, Lord, and the Hayes Office see Stephen Vaughn's "Morality and Entertainment: The Origins of the Motion Picture Production Code, JAH, June 1980, 39-65; or Gregory D.

In his memo of the meeting, Carroll wrote that Quigley was concerned with "the standards [that] will govern productions of the television industry." It was noted with some degree of satisfaction that NBC had already published a code and the National Association of Broadcasters had the matter under study. In response to a question as to whether a Catholic TV Morality Code might be made a concern of the Legion of Decency, according to Carroll, Quigley "rather forcefully expressed the opinion that such a move would be most unwise. In his judgement, the result would be not only unsatisfactory as far as television is concerned, but harmful as far as the effectiveness of the Legion in the field of cinema is concerned." Quigley explained the separate establishment of National Organization for Decent Literature (NODL)[49] to look after the field of literature came about so as not to hamper the effectiveness of the LOD. A separate and distinct Catholic office should be established for the field of television as well, Quigley argued.[50]

From 1951-1954, based upon his correspondence, Monsignor Carroll sporadically politicked for a TV morality code. He wrote to anyone inquiring about it, in or out of the country, saying the NCCM was "drafting a code for the evaluation of television programs

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Black, The Catholic Crusade Against the Movies; and Gregory D. Black, Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics and the Movies.

[49] NODL was similar to the LOD but for printed material. Established by the American Bishops in 1938 "to stop the torrent of indecent literature that was flooding the newsstands and drug stores of our country . . ." See Rev. Paul M. Lackner, "The Role of NODL, in NCCM Records, 1920-1975, National Council of Catholic Men collection, box 2, folder 7, Catholic University.

in accordance with the canons of morality and good taste."[51] In truth, such a draft was not forthcoming and the only "plan" being circulated was the one provided in the McMahon memo.

The idea of containing immorality on TV deeply resonated with the Catholic mission. Based on past success at controlling movie and print content using the LOD NODL respectively, there was serious talk -- and even some action -- by the Catholic hierarchy that television could be brought in line as well. The Archdiocese of Chicago, for example, had already developed its own TV Code, and proposed a "diocesan Television Review Board," as did the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. However, the idea of homegrown policing was abandoned for another more encompassing concept. Father D.J. Masterson of the Chicago Archdiocese suggested a National Television Review Board writing, "[t]he task, of course, would be an enormous one. . . . Television has to be checked every day, all day long and when you have a number of channels it means watching each one of the channels and all of their programs." How did Manning propose to solve such a problem? First, he said, the Church might secure funds from an unnamed Foundation, then use *"bedridden veterans in our Service Hospitals"* to watch TV for any moral infractions. He explained, "[w]e would give them a copy of our Code and try to pay them some small fee for watching programs all day long." Astonishingly, the

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[50] Howard J. Carroll, "Memo: Proposed Meeting on Television . . .", box 10, collection 10, folder 18, Catholic University.

unseemly idea met with approval from both the Cardinal and Auxiliary Bishop of Los Angeles, and was sent to Monsignor Carroll to share with others at the NCCM.[52]

Martin Work and the End of the Catholic TV Morality Code

Not everyone in the Catholic hierarchy was sold on a national TV morality rating system; Martin H. Work, powerful, long-time Executive Secretary of NCCM, was one of them. Throughout the talk of censoring TV shows, Work saw only one practical possibility to make a rating system work: get agreements from NARTB member television stations, the major networks, and independent TV outlets saying "they will not show any films which do not carry the NARTB seal, or which are listed as condemned by the Legion of Decency." He also thought it prudent to make arrangements with television producers "who are making films . . . for television, whereby they would abide by a common code similar to the Legion of Decency, and to establish for themselves a seal similar to the MPA."[53] In other words, have the networks and producers get ideas or scripts approved *before* production, similar to methods used by the LOD. To Work, anything else would be a clear waste of effort and resources by the Church. Television

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[51] Letter to His Excellency, the Most Reverend Antonio Samore from Howard J, Carroll, September 20, 1951, collection 10, box 35, folder 18, Catholic University.

[52] "Copy of letter from Father J.D. Masterson to Bishop Timothy Manning, 26 May 1953, attached to letter to Monsignor Harold Carroll from Bishop Timothy Manning, 28 May 1953, collection 10, box 35, folder 19, Catholic University. Note: in his 26 May letter, Masterson concluded," [T]here is no doubt in my mind that such a review board is necessary since the industry itself is so violently opposed to governmental supervision. [The NARTB] have a Code of their own which is very detailed, but not enforced too well and as a consequence it is frequently violated."

[53] Letter of Martin H. Work, to Paul J. Greenhalgh, 15 February 1952, collection 10, box 35, folder 18, Catholic University.

was just too big and complicated for the plethora of vigilant post-production watchdog plans he had reviewed. Work knew and understood the communications media better than the prelates for whom he'd been employed for over 20 years. He had produced NCCM radio and TV shows on NBC and CBS for decades and knew expending time and money on a Legion of Decency for TV -- in essence a morally critical review of television programs *after* they air -- would not be worthwhile.[54]

As early as 1952, Work had written the establishment of "a formal system of moral rating for television" would not work, was both "impractical and imprudent," and observed the electronic media in the United States was far too sprawling and decentralized for any such idea.[55] Nonetheless, Monsignor Carroll, and others in the hierarchy, persisted in pushing for a TV rating system that would put economic pressure on the sponsors of television shows the Church concluded were morally wrong.

In 1956 reports surfaced saying the Revlon Cosmetics Company – sponsors of the successful (albeit eventually doomed) "The $64,000 Question" – was working on another project tentatively titled "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World." Word of such a program reawakened the debate for a TV Morality Code. The show was to be patterned after the annual Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, and was to be a combination quiz show-beauty contest where a $250,000 prize would be awarded "to the contestant who manages to overcome a series of 'mental and physical hurdles.'"[56] The Archbishop of Philadelphia, Revered John F. O'Hara, was incensed over the news, as was New Jersey priest Father Tom Chapam, who wrote:

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[54] Martin H. Work supervised "The Catholic Hour" on NBC-TV and radio (on radio for 30 years, began on TV in 1949), "Look Up and Live" on CBS-TV, "Lamp Unto My Feet" also on CBS-TV, plus 260 "We Believe" doctrinal films, and 350 kinescopes of "The Best of the Catholic Hour." See The Fifth Annual Television Report, collection 10, box 35, folder 21, Catholic University.

[55] "Television and Morality, " confidential memo submitted by Martin H. Work to the Episcopal Committee for Motion Pictures, Radio and Television, March 1953, collection 10, box 35, folder 22, Catholic University.

> This will probably be a weekly . . . pulchritude contest, channeled into our homes. Perhaps you can interest the hierarchy in the matter . . . The fear of a boycott of [Revlon] products by decent Catholic girls and women may give them pause in their commercial exploitation of sex.[57]

In early March 1956, an "interposition" of the NCCM and National Catholic Council of Women (NCCW) strongly opposed the program idea and "plans for the show [had] been scrapped." Instead, Revlon put its advertising money into the Arthur Murray Show, a program in which a formally-clad husband and wife taught dance lessons to home viewers. Although it is not clear if the Catholic complaints were the reason for Revlon's timidity, Monsignor Paul F. Tanner wrote to Archbishop O'Hara, "I would like to believe [pressure from] the Councils . . . had something to do with the change of heart."[58]

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[56] '$64,000 Challenge' Now Set To Make Debut on March 25," Broadcasting-Telecasting, 5 March 1956, 26. Note: The program was scheduled to air in the summer of 1956 and Revlon had approached CBS-TV, and NBC-TV but no network was selected.

[57] Letter to NCCM office from Father Tom Chapman, San Alfonso Retreat House, West End, Long Branch, New Jersey, 24 February 1956, collection 10, box 35, folder 21, Catholic University.

[58] Letter to Archbishop John. F. O'Hara, from Paul F. Tanner, 13 March 1956, collection 10, box 35, folder 21, Catholic University.

Talk of a Legion of Decency for TV appeared to have died down for a time within Catholic circles, but an encyclical by His Holiness Pope Pius XII started it anew in1958. The Pope had promulgated a statement to the Italian Bishops regarding television in January 1954, but an earnest debate on the issue did not begin in the United States until four years later. In the encyclical, referred to as the *Miranda Prorsus*, the Pope reminded the faithful that "evil and moral ruin" had come from motion pictures and now, via television, the same "poisoned atmosphere of materialism . . . frivolity [and] hedonism . . . can . . . be brought into the very sanctuary of the home." He declared, "lurid scenes of forbidden pleasure, passion and evil" would "undermine and bring to lasting ruin a . . . healthy personal and social upbringing." The Pontiff had contempt for the concept of creative of expression and found "groundless . . . the pretend rights of absolute freedom of art" because by "safeguarding" the family living-room from television, "*higher values [were] at stake.*"[59]

The basic recommendation of the encyclical was that a national office be established for radio, television, and films, whose purpose would be to coordinate and promote Catholic activities in these fields. The business of this proposed office would be to provide guidance and encourage higher standards for the preservation of Christian morals in secular films and broadcasting, to support Church-based media productions for the dissemination of the Catholic doctrine of salvation, and to advance the Catholic use of radio and television.[60]

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[59] Statement by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, to the Italian Bishops on Television, 1 January 1954, NCCM collection 10, box 35, folder 20, Catholic University.

On April 21 and 22, 1958, a Television Study Meeting was called by the Episcopal Committee for Motion Pictures, Radio and Television "to determine the most suitable and acceptable of implementing the aims and objectives of the Papal Encyclical as they apply to television in the United States."[61] Fifty-six priests representing 51 dioceses were present at the meeting; Martin H. Work was the only layman in the group. The first day of the convocation was spent discussing morality and taste in television with high-level radio-TV executives, a Commissioner of the FCC, the head of the Television Code Authority of the National Association of Broadcasters, and directors of continuity acceptance for the three major networks.[62]

The meeting got down to the actual business of the *Miranda Prorsus* on Tuesday afternoon, hotly debating the matter of morality on television. A majority of the prelates were silent or held no opinion on the issue. A dozen or so were ready to vote for a TV morality code; there were several priests who spoke strongly for "the immediate establishment of a national office and morality code to encourage higher standards of taste on television." It was then Work stood and addressed the assembly.

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[60] Ibid.

[61] From questionnaire and itinerary of Television Study Meeting, 21-22 April 1958, collection 10, box 35, folder 22, Catholic University.

[62] Stockton Helffrich, Continuity Acceptance Director of NBC was in attendance as was Grace Johnson, Continuity Acceptance Director of ABC, Herbert Carlborg, Director of Editing CBS, and Edward Bronson, Director of TV Code Authority Affairs, NAB. Representing the FCC was Commissioner Robert E. Lee. To explain the organizational structure and working process of television: Donald McGannon, President of Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., Arthur Hull Hayes, president of CBS Radio, Leavitt Pope, vice president in charge of operations WPIX-TV, and Thomas McFadden, vice president, Spot Sales, NBC-TV. Each speaker was allowed 12 minutes for presentation, followed by a floor discussion of one hour, except for FCC Commissioner Lee. He was permitted 40 minutes to speak, followed by a 20-minute discussion. See document *Miranda Prorsus*, collection 10, box 35, folder 23, Catholic University.

"It seems to me," he began, "that the Holy Father's Encyclical had primarily in mind countries whose radio-TV structure were extremely simple and could easily and justifiably be unified under one office, like those of Great Britain or France." Work next explained the "uniqueness and complexity of the American broadcasting structure." He explained the nation was served by "3,501 radio stations . . . 477 television stations, three national TV networks and four radio networks." Work argued it would be "ludicrous" to think the Catholic Church could monitor hundreds of stations broadcasting thousands of programs that "are on the air 12 to 18 hours a day." [63]

"Why do we need the expense of a national office," Work asked, " when we have the NCCM producing award winning national radio and TV programs, dozens of local and syndicated programs like the Sacred Heart Hour . . . The Christophers . . . and the Hour of St. Francis? These programs already do what the Pope commands: provide moral guidance and encourage higher standards in broadcasting." He then reminded the Bishops that the Legion of Decency was fulfilling that function in the area of motion pictures.[64] "Because of the complexity of our media structure," Work pointed out, "and the extreme sensitivity of current public opinion, it would seem to me to be both impractical and imprudent to establish a 'Legion of Decency' for radio and television. The basic conclusion of my study on this subject in 1952 still stands."[65]

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[63] Letter to Monsignor Paul Tanner form Martin H. Work, 13 May 1958, collection 10, box 35, folder 23, Catholic University.

For nearly a half-hour, in the presence of the nation's most influential body in the Catholic broadcasting, he passionately and eloquently spoke. Work argued "there may be more than one way of fulfilling the desires of the Holy Father as expressed in the *Miranda Prorsus*" other than establishing a Morality Code for Television and expending hundreds of thousands of Church dollars on a national TV office.[66]

Afterwards, Work wrote of his surprise to see "the consensus of opinion had changed around the room. He wrote, "[t]he prelates appeared to reflect upon my words and finally decided, while television was far from perfect, *no* moral rating system was required." Moreover, the day before all three of the network executives "expressed hope that the Church would *not* attempt to set up a censorship operation for television."[67] The question was called, a vote was taken, and the Bishops' Committee decided that this central portion of Pope Pius XII's *Miranda Prorsus* would be sent back to committee for more study and consideration.[68] Work had won a major victory arguing that without a pre-production code, higher moral standards in commercial television could only happen by educating the audience to want better TV shows and to express their desires to network program managers.[69]

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] From Memorandum for the Record, Martin H. Work, 25 April 1958, collection 10, box 35, folder 23, Catholic University.

The only other agenda item was the establishment of a film, radio-TV national office. Work wrote, "Reflecting on the meeting, I would say that there was a general sentiment that a national television office of some kind would be a good thing. Although no answers were really given on what this office would actually do, or how it would be financed or staffed."[70] There was silence in the room. A resolution was proposed by an unnamed priest that a committee be appointed to prepare a set of by-laws approving the establishment of a national film, radio-TV office. Such an office would represent Church policy to industry, determine the character of Catholic broadcasting, and coordinate all present and future Catholic programs.[71] Work took the floor again saying, "I do not believe this group has the right or the authority to adopt such a resolution. Given the far-reaching implications of such a directive, and so serious its implications, this proposal needs to be studied fully for a long period of time."[72] Work's rational, dispassionate statement appeared to stop further discussion. The Bishop's voted that nothing be done immediately on the question, and that further study of taste and morality on television was certainly required. The meeting was adjourned after only one hour and forty minutes of discussion on the *Miranda Prorsus*. After nearly a decade, the issue of a TV Morality Code – a Legion of Decency for television – had come to an end.[73]

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Memo to Monsignor Paul Tanner from Martin H. Work, 25 April 1958, collection 10, box 35, folder 22, Catholic University.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

Discussion

Pope Pius XII died on October 1, 1958 – a little more than six months after the Bishop's television meeting – and with him died a kind of Roman Catholicism that would never be seen again. Pius was an absolutist Pope, what Robert S. Ellwood called "an unflinching bulwark, ready to do battle with the demons of atheism and modernity but never to change colors before them."[74] It was a Catholicism of "rock solid-doctrines . . . the Latin Mass . . . parochial schools staffed by white-coifed nuns . . . heroic priests, militant anticommunism, and . . . (for intellectuals) a seeming impregnable logical edifice based on Thomism. . . . This was the Catholicism that [endured] through the last pope named Pius."[75]

This is not to suggest that had Pius lived there would have eventually been a National Catholic Office of Film, Radio and Television, or a TV morality code. Quite the contrary. But perhaps, if the Catholic hierarchy would have acted swiftly in the late

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Robert S. Ellwood, The Fifties Spiritual Marketplace: American Religion in a Decade of Conflict (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 202-203.
[75] Ibid., 204.

1940s or early 1950s, *before* the NAB had developed its TV Code Authority, before the television producers promulgated its lengthy code thesis, before local TV stations (like WTMJ in Milwaukee among others) wrote their own codes (as did some neighborhood Catholic parishes), and before the major television networks penned new standards and practices guidelines, then, it is arguable some form of Catholic belief-based morality code *might* have been tolerated at the network level. Even Work's early idea of the pre-production screening and editing of concepts and scripts (ala the Legion of Decency) *may* have found a censorious home – at least temporally – as television programming was being invented. But it did not happen, exposing as myth the widely held conviction of a fascist Papacy (in the corporate sense.) Clearly, when Pope Pius spoke, declared, or commanded, not all in the chain responded with slavish obedience. It took years to debate the Vatican's Encyclicals, layer upon layer of Catholic hierarchy and numerous laity had to be informed and involved, and political maneuvering was common. It is no wonder nearly a decade passed and no formal Catholic code on morality was developed.

Another consideration is that in the late '40s and early '50s the U.S. government was more in-tune with Catholic rhetoric on the touchy subject of TV morality. One needs only to read transcripts of the several Congressional and Senate hearings on television to hear the Pentecostal zeal with which many politicians spoke of "cleaning up TV." Representative Thomas Lane of Massachusetts, said in 1951, the Federal government "must step into this mess and clean up the house of television so that its occupants will not track any more dirt into our homes."[76] In 1952 Representative Ezekiel Candler Gathings of Arkansas, demonstrated in the halls of Congress a bizarre "hootchy-koothcy" dance he reportedly saw on the TV show *You Asked for It.* He next attributed the wave of "panty raids" by college students to the influence of this kind of show, and urged Congress to control television because, "competition is keen and great financial stakes are involved, making it difficult for the [industry] to properly regulate [itself.]" It was the Gathing's Resolution that precipitated the 1952 Congressional hearings on TV. The Congressman said an investigation was needed "to determine the extent to which . . . television programs . . . available to the people of the United States contain immoral or otherwise offensive material. Or place improper emphasis upon crime, violence and corruption . . ."[77] These were the same concerns expressed by most religious groups about early TV programming, with the Catholics being foremost among them.

By the late 1950s, it also appeared the Catholic hierarchy was growing more and more out of touch with the changing morality of the nation. Cardinal Spellman's behavior over the movie *Baby Doll* is a prime example. The 1956 film, written by Tennessee Williams and directed by Elia Kazan, is the story of violent sexual domination. Spellman – sometimes derided as "the American Pope" – actually sent "undercover priests" to the theaters where *Baby Doll* was showing to write down the names of any parishioner caught attending it. Stephen J. Whitfield speculates, " Perhaps, in the Cardinal's mind, the defense of Catholic sexual values had assumed an even larger significance than . . .the threat that Communism posed. Or perhaps the distinction between the two issues had blurred beyond recovery . . . .[T]he very excesses of so vigilant and inflexible a stance guaranteed a waning of the cardinal's influence."[78] And, I would add, the waning of overall Catholic influence in the moral life of the United States as well.

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[76] "TV Censorship Board Proposed, " Variety, 7 March 1951, 56.

[77] "TV's Hottest Problem: Public Relations," Sponsor, 16 June 1952, 27-29.

As the decade wore on, the Catholic Church continued to lose ground to the liberal secular humanists. Martin Work realized that expending a half-million or more Church dollars on a National Office of Film, Radio and Television to regain Catholic influence would be a waste of resources. Times were changing, and money would be better spent producing high-quality radio, TV, and films that could be used to spread the Catholic message of salvation and convert those inclined. By the late 1950s it had become clear to Work and the Catholic hierarchy that one could no longer win a moral point with threats, power, or sixteenth-century calls of blasphemy or heresy. The Church had become – as any idea or product in the United States eventually becomes – a demographically-sliced commodity, a brand name, that would pick up customers (or, in this case, converts) with the proper marketing and sales strategy.[79]

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[78] Ibid., 98-99

By the end of the 1950s, Catholic voices on morality in media grew fainter and fainter, apparently leaving one's mortal soul alone to negotiate the "dangers" of the new TV marketplace. To the faithful it was at once a scary and compelling place with programs of sex and violence, jokes in questionable taste, and "excessive exhibition" of female cleavage. It was a new secular age and, with coast-to-coast television now in place, postwar ideas of taste and morality would be forever changed.

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[79] Finke and Stark employ the notion of a market-based economy to explain the growth and decline of specific religious bodies in the U.S. They use the compelling idea of churches as "firms" and claim sudden shifts in the "religious economy" involve the rising and falling of religious firms not religion per se. For "success" these firms (or churches) depend upon: 1. Organizational structure (or polity), 2. Sales representatives (or clergy), 3. A product (or religious doctrine), 4. A marketing plan (or evangelization techniques.) The author's argue that in a very real market-driven way, there are winners and losers in religion. Using such a theoretical frame one can see that when the Catholic Church embraced the temporal nature of 1950s morality, their influence in the nation began a slow and steady decline. For a full discussion see Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy (New Brunswick: NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

Table 1

Number of television sets sold and TV households in the United States, 1949-1959.

Year	Number TVs Sold	Total TVs Sold to date	Number of TV Households	Percentage of Households with TV
1941-49	---	3,600,000	---	---
1950	6,100,000	9,700,000	3,900,000	9.0
1951	5,900,000	15,600,000	10,300,000	23.5
1952	6,100,000	21,800,000	15,300,000	34.2
1953	6,400,000	28.200,000	20,400,000	44.7
1954	7,300,000	35,500,000	26,000,000	55.7
1955	7,400,000	42,900,000	30,700,000	64.5
1956	6,800,000	49,700,000	34,900,000	71.8
1957	6,600,000	56,300,000	38,900,000	78.6
1958	5,100,000	61,400,000	41,900,000	83.2
1959	5,700,000	67,100,000	43,900,000	85.9

(From Cobbett Steinberg, TV Facts (New York: Facts on File, 1985), 85-86.)

Table 2

Categories of Congressional Action on Issues of Television by Decade

	Congressional Record Remarks	Hearings*	Introducing Resolutions	Introducing Legislation	Reports/ Prints	Passing Legislation	Total
1950s	18	3	1	0	2	0	24
1960s	33	5	20	1	2	0	61
1970s	49	9	34	3	3	0	98
1980s	34	7	1	6	3	0	51
1990s	156	5	5	17	4	2	189
Totals	290	29	61	27	14	2	423*

* This table combines general topic hearings and hearings on specific legislation.

** There are eight actions labeled as "introducing Amendment to existing legislation" that are not listed here.

(From Keisha L. Hoerrner, "Symbolic Politics: Congressional Interest in Television Violence from 1950 to 1996," Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, Winter 1999, vol. 76, no. 4, p. 688.)

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John Jenks
Dominican University
7900 Division St.
River Forest, IL 60305
jjenks@email.dom.edu
708-524-6932
AEJMC –2000. History Division

'London Calling?'
Covert British Propaganda and News Distribution, 1948-1953.

Introduction

Propaganda has always been something the "other side" does. During the Cold War it was widely assumed that the entire media and public information system of the Soviet Union was, in fact, nothing but propaganda.[1] In the late 1960s and early 1970s Americans were told that their own national security system had compromised the news media both at home and abroad with subsidies, bribes, bogus news stories and biased information. In other words, propaganda.[2]

But little attention had been devoted to what the British were doing with propaganda and the news media in the Cold War. Although Britain was in steep decline as a world power after 1945, it still had extensive influence, especially in the international media system.[3] The British also had an impressive track record with propaganda during the two world wars. In this paper I hope to correct the historical omission by describing how British government propagandists used news, features and commentary in an attempt to influence news media coverage so that it would reflect a pro-British, anti-Soviet view of the world.

There have been important works on the structure of the propaganda bureaucracy and the content of some propaganda campaigns. John Black's administrative history, *Organising the Propaganda Instrument: The British Experience*, and Susan Carruther's analysis of propaganda in a colonial context, *Winning Hearts and Minds: British Governments, the Media and Colonial Counter-Insurgency, 1944-1960* are good examples.[4] The BBC and other cross-border radio systems have been well covered.[5] (For our purposes propaganda can be defined broadly as the mobilization of language, symbols and information for persuasion.)

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[1] See, for example, see Ladislav Bittman, *The KGB and Soviet Disinformation: An Insider's View* (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985); and Theodore Kruglak, *The Two Faces of TASS* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962).

[2] See, for example, "CIA Funded Journalists Network Abroad," Walter Pincus, *Washington Post*, 16 Jan. 1976; and Christopher Simpson, *Science of Coercion, Communication Research and Psychological Warfare, 1945-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Other recent works on America's Cold War propaganda include Laura Belmonte, "Defending a Way of Life: American Propaganda and the Cold War, 1945-1959" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1996); Leo Bogart, *Cool Words, Cold War: A New Look at USIA's Premises for Propaganda*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1995).

A great deal of other work has focused on the British Foreign Office's primary covert propaganda agency, the Information Research Department. Studies of the IRD have focused on its role in British politics, international relations, and the British national security establishment. The most comprehensive account is Paul Lashmar and James Oliver's *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, which builds on a number of academic articles and journalistic accounts that have emerged over the past 20 years.[6] However, most of these works have dealt only in passing with the IRD's influence on the news media.

Background

Britain had long been an important center for news distribution, but it solidified a leading role with the 19th century construction of the London-based international cable system. Reuters news agency rose at the same time to take a leading role in the global news system; it stabilized its position through the "ring combination" news cartel established with the major German and French news agencies. The British government promoted the expansion of the cable system and Reuters, but did not take an active hand in the distribution of news until World War I.

During the war a covert system arose to generate and distribute anti-German propaganda in neutral countries. They relied on several small, anonymous agencies to distribute and facilitate propaganda

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[3] The best description of this global news power is in Donald Read's, *The Power of News: The History of Reuters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[4] John Black, *Organising the Propaganda Instrument: The British Experience* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975); and Susan Carruthers, *Winning Hearts and Minds: British Governments, the Media and Colonial Counter-Insurgency, 1944-1960* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995).

[5] See, for example, Michael Nelson, *War of the Black Heavens: The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997) and Gerald Mansell, *Let Truth Be Told: 50 Years of BBC External Broadcasting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982).

[6] Paul Lashmar and James Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1998). Important early articles include: Lyn Smith, "Covert British Propaganda: The Information Research Department, 1947-77" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 1980; Richard Fletcher, "British Propaganda Since World War II -- A Case Study" *Media, Culture and Society*, 1982; W. Scott Lucas and C.J. Morris, "A Very British Crusade: The Information Research Department and the Beginning of the Cold War," *British Intelligence, Strategy and the Cold War, 1945-54*, ed., Richard J. Aldrich (London: Routledge, 1992). Other important recent contributions include Tony Shaw, "The Information Research Department of the British Foreign Office and the Korean War, 1950-53," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1999; and Hugh Wilford, "The Information Research Department: Britain's Secret Cold War Weapon Revealed," *Review of International Studies*, 1998.

indirectly through friendly foreign elites. These agencies used a wide array of methods, such as commissioning distinguished intellectuals to write ostensibly unofficial pamphlets, planting news articles in the foreign press, and buying up newspaper distributors in neutral countries. In the 1930s German and American commentators greatly exaggerated the success of the British system, mainly to justify their own political agendas.[7]

The government created a much more elaborate information apparatus during World War II. A number of overlapping agencies -- the Ministry of Information, the Political Warfare Executive, the Special Operations Executive, and the British Press Service -- generated propaganda, massaged news and created disinformation. Several recent books have described the British operations in America in detail.[8]

After 1945 the government whittled down the size of the system and shuffled the components to the Foreign Office, the Foreign Office's spy agency -- MI6 -- and the newly created Central Office of Information. They stayed on a peace-time footing until late 1947, when mounting pressures with the Soviet Union led the government to launch an anti-Communist propaganda campaign through a new entity -- the Information Research Department, or IRD. The IRD stayed in business for 30 years and relied heavily on the news media to push its anti-Communist agenda.

The IRD Takes Shape

Veteran psychological warriors in the Foreign Office had been eager to begin with anti-Soviet propaganda operations as early as February 1946, but Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin held them back out of tactical consideration. They were limited first to Iran, then were allowed to expand to the Middle East as a whole. Later they were permitted to operate in occupied Germany and Austria. But by late 1947 the cabinet and the governing Labour Party had become much more intransigent toward the Soviet Union, and Bevin felt secure in proposing an anti-Soviet propaganda offensive as part of an across-the-board Cold War position. The cabinet accepted it and the IRD began its mission to "destroy the Soviet myth" of the USSR as a progressive, peace-loving worker's paradise.

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[7] There are several accounts of World War I propaganda. The best is M.L. Sanders and Philip Taylor's, *British Propaganda during the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1982

[8] Nicholas Cull, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American "Neutrality' in World War II.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Susan Brewer. *To Win the Peace: British Propaganda in the United States during World War II* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); and Thomas Mahl, *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939-44* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1998).

Much of the IRD's work was prosaic. Researchers trawled the published records of the Communist world looking for evidence of hypocrisy, lies, crime and failure, then carefully supplemented those results with material provided by the intelligence agencies and overseas missions. They found quite a bit of damning evidence -- forced labor, mass deportations and low living standards -- and packaged much of it into briefing papers and digests for journalists, politicians, clerics, and trade unionists. Although a great deal of the material was intended as background for political writers, more and more of it was intended for publication.

But it clearly was not publication by "His Majesty's Government." The key to most IRD operations in the early Cold War was indirection. The IRD would provide its anti-Communist material to independent writers and then buy their articles for publication outside Britain. In other operations, the IRD would find suitably anti-Communist stories in the British press, buy the foreign republication rights, then give the stories to friendly editors in target areas.

During the IRD's early years Lt. Col. Leslie Sheridan was the front man in the buying, selling and distribution of propaganda. Sheridan had had a prewar career in Fleet Street journalism, but during the war joined the intelligence services. His job was to create espionage and propaganda networks in neutral cities using journalists as cover. After the war he set himself up as a public relations consultant while maintaining connections with the intelligence services.[9] In 1950 the ever-caustic author, spy and television personality Malcolm Muggeridge summed him up in a sentence:

> "Rather a sad piece of debris, former news editor of *The Mirror*, now 'publicity consultant,' and black propaganda specialist for the Government, SOE in the war – the whole bag of tricks."[10]

The cloak-and-dagger part of the operation came when the IRD "laundered" this information to remove the stain of government inspiration and government propaganda. There were several major ways this was done.

•Commissioning an article to plant directly in the overseas press. Sometimes the journalist knew about the IRD's intentions, but other times arrangements were through a middleman such as Sheridan. In that case the writer was unaware of his true patron or his article's goals and ultimate destination. But they all received IRD briefing material.

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[9] Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, pp. 12, 31-32.

•Commissioning an article, based on IRD briefings, then planting it in a British publication to give it greater authenticity. The IRD would then buy the rights to republish it overseas and offer it, gratis, to foreign editors and news services.[11]

•Buying the republication rights (known as "second-rights") and distributing overseas hard-hitting anti-Soviet articles that had first appeared, without IRD involvement, in the British press -- from the left-wing *New Statesman and Nation* to the right-wing *Daily Telegraph.*[12] Later, the IRD would start buying and republishing articles from the foreign press, such as scorching anti-Soviet essays written by leading Yugoslav Communist Milovan Djilas.[13]

A mid-1949 progress report explained how the system of commissioning articles worked and clearly implied that Sheridan was not the only literary middleman the IRD was using.

> "In order to do this, we have entered into confidential arrangements with a couple of small agencies who have proved themselves willing and able to make the necessary approaches to the figure from whom we require articles, to explain what is wanted and, indeed, to obtain the desired product. The rights of such an article are then purchased from the agency concerned and the article is issued through the normal machinery. In this manner we have obtained articles from Harold Laski, Woodrow Wyatt, M.P.; Rhys Davies, M.P.; Oscar Hobson, Mr. Phillips Price, M.P., and other lesser lights. Articles now coming forward through this machinery include ones by Lionel Elvin of Ruskin College: A.J.P. Taylor; and R.H.S. Crossman (yes, and quite a good one!)"[14]

The last reference in the report apparently concerned Crossman's article, "The Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 – A Reassessment," which turned out to be a big success for the IRD. It was published 77 times in 11 countries. Crossman, of course, would soon make a much bigger hit with the compilation of ex-Communist *mea culpas*, *The God that Failed.* Not all IRD-sponsored "big-name" articles had that kind of reception. More typical was Labour M.P. Woodrow Wyatt's "Two Imperialisms," which was republished 20 times in seven countries.[15]

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[10] Muggeridge Diary, 13 Nov. 1950, Box 1, Muggeridge Papers. Hoover Institution.

[11] There was also some desultory discussion of bribing Brazilian editors to take the material. See Sheridan Note, 14 Nov. 1949. PR3623/25/G. FO1110/216. PRO.

[12] Report on the Work of the Information Research Department, 1st August to 31st December, 1949. PR1110/5/G. FO1110/359. PRO.

[13] J.S. Martin to IRD. PR86/13. FO1110/435; Press Attache to IRD, 12 March 1951. PR71/7/51. FO1110/425. PRO.

[14] Progress Report: Information Research Deparrtment, 1st January to 31st July (version for Harold Caccia). PR2891/112/G. FO1110/277. PRO.

[15] Report on the Work of the Information Research Department, 1st August to 31st December, 1949. PR110/5/G. FO1110/359. PRO.

The system also worked for newspaper cartoon strips. Early on, the IRD recognized the propaganda potential of George Orwell's barnyard allegory on Communism, *Animal Farm*, and bought not only translation rights but also the copyright for a cartoon version in Latin America, Asia and the Middle East. The story as produced by British artists and writers working for the IRD came in 78 installments, and included textual suggestions for local translators. Artistic adaptation for propaganda, however, was not easy. Sheridan berated ex-*Daily Mirror* cartoonist Norman Pett for his renditions of Orwell's animals. Boxer the horse, for example, should have been a "faithful, steady, plodding cart-horse," but appeared "far too 'pansy,'" "almost cretinous" and "prinking and effeminate as Pretty Polly herself."[16]

For cartoons and articles there was a hierarchy in the IRD's distribution system. Writers at top-ranked newspapers in industrialized countries, such as the *Daily Telegraph*, *LeMonde* or the *New York Times*, received IRD background briefings but seldom ran pre-written IRD articles. But provincial European newspapers, socialist publications and most non-Communist newspapers in Latin America, Asia and the Middle East would take directly commissioned article, such as Wyatt's. For many cash-strapped editors around the world the appeal of these British articles was obvious. They were very cheap, if not free, and filled space.

Despite this hierarchy, particularly juicy information often percolated through a number of newspapers, magazines, journals and books, then surfaced in unexpected places. For example, a journalist who worked for an IRD front published in 1953 a book of hypocritical Communist quotations on nuclear weapons and the peace movement; 40 years later one of these quotes wound up in Lawrence Wittner's definitive history of the world's peace movement.[17] (The quote came from a 1945 issue of the Italian Communist newspaper L'Unita, at a time when Communists applauded the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The article accused opponents of atomic weapons of suffering from a "psychological perversion.") It was an accurate quote, but achieved its wide distribution as part of a propaganda campaign.

Housebroken Journalists, Ghost Writers and Alternative Methods

Although British writers such as Crossman had international cachet, an English name and a London dateline could sometimes be a liability when trying to peddle articles in the Middle East and Asia.

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[16] Sheridan to Pett, 5 March 1951. PR32/14/51. FO1110/392. PRO.

As IRD Director Ralph Murray noted, "... there is a natural 'sales resistance' to *ex cathedra* statements on such a tricky subject as Communism by representatives of 'imperialist' countries."[18]

Exchange controls and other logistical problems had made it difficult to commission foreign authors, but by late 1949 the IRD was making progress. For example, to publicize the founding of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions the IRD commissioned articles from Munir Bayoud (Lebanese), Deven Sen (Indian) and Cecil P. Alexander ("Trinidad Negro").[19] The IRD was especially happy to get non-white allies. When leading black Caribbean politician Grantley Adams spoke against the Soviets the IRD was ecstatic. Watson wrote: "Mr. Adams is the stuff for Africa. We must have more negroes putting out our publicity – and our IRD stuff."[20]

Within Britain the IRD had developed close relationships with several writers that allowed them to play multiple roles in the anti-Communist propaganda effort.

The IRD's hardest working and most dependable client was *Daily Herald* diplomatic correspondent W.N. Ewer, who had been covering foreign affairs since 1919. In the 1920s Ewer had been a Communist, and ran a spy ring for the Soviets that was unmasked in 1929. The government never prosecuted him or his spies, reportedly for fear of scandal.[21] Ewer later turned toward the right wing of the Labour Party and became a close ally of Bevin in attacking the Soviet Union. It would be interesting to know how the specter of public exposure of his spying affected his political conversion and his dedication to anti-Communist propaganda work.

In the late 1940s the by-then respectable Ewer wrote a weekly diplomatic commentary for the London Press Service, appeared on innumerable BBC talk shows, and undertook a great number of articles for the COI and the IRD.[22] His work was popular among foreign editors. Reports in 1949 indicated that

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[17] W.N. Ewer, Communists on Peace. (London: Batchworth Press, 1953); and Lawrence Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb, Volume One: One World or None: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement Through 1953* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 172.

[18] Murray to Parliamentary Undersecretary, 15 Feb. 1950 . PR110/5/G. FO1110/359. PRO.

[19] Report on the Work of the Information Research Department, 1st August to 31st December, 1949. PR110/5/G. FO1110/359. PRO.

[20] Watson Minute, 8 Nov. 1948. PR1058/1058/913. FO1110/154. PRO

[21] Nigel West and Oleg Tsarev, *The Crown Jewels: The British Secrets at the Heart of the KGB Archives* (London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1998), pp. 30-32. West and Tsarev consistently misspelled Ewer's surname as Euer. All other details match perfectly, however.

[22] For example he appeared in the 25 May 1950, BBC Home Service program about Soviet show trials. That program led to a well-publicized controversy involving fellow-traveler D.N. Pritt. See, NS1052/60/G. FO371/86756. PRO.

nine of his articles, mainly on Soviet diplomacy at the Paris conference that ended the Berlin blockade, appeared 25 times in Italian newspapers from Palermo to Turin.[23] In 1950 the Information Policy Department's G.W. Aldington noted:

> "There are certainly better political writers than Ewer, but few of them would be as ready as he to take direction as to the lines on which he should write."[24]

Several other cooperative journalists came from the Conservative *Daily Telegraph* – diplomatic correspondent R.H.C. Steed, leader writer Malcolm Muggeridge, and industrial correspondent Hugh Chevins all contributed.[25] Chevins wrote articles on commission for overseas distribution and was willing to take IRD information for use in his own stories in the *Daily Telegraph*. For example, on Nov. 11, 1949, the IRD sent out his article about international trade unionism, "International Labour," and got it published in 14 newspapers in Turkey, Iran, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands.[26] Next the IRD wanted him to write a quick 5,000-word piece for a pamphlet on the founding conference of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.[27] (Chevins was already covering the conference for the *Daily Telegraph*.) Sheridan wanted Chevins to weave in criticism of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions "as he has done in his articles" and to mention as many of the Middle and Far Eastern delegates as possible. Chevins would not need extensive briefing, Sheridan wrote, "since he knows the IRD line well enough, and I have every reason to believe, subscribes to it." Sheridan hoped that the TUC would publish it in the UK first, or at least that the TUC would praise it for its "authenticity."[28]

Most of the contacts with Chevins were through his home address, as when Sheridan tried to drum up a story based on a copy of a Polish government document. Sheridan hinted that the document, a questionnaire about social origins, meant that the Poles were probably preparing to purge from administrative posts people with "unsuitable" social or political backgrounds.

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[23] Report, 10 Aug. 1949. PR2324/84/913. FO1110/267. PRO.

[24] Aldington Minute, 7 June 1950. PG1173/3. FO953/877. PRO. Walter Taplin was also a prolific writer for the IRD.

[25] Muggeridge was a little too unpredictable for the IRD, and worked mainly with the MI6 and the CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom. Chevins' own political stance was complex. Muggeridge knew Chevins well and described him as a "former socialist and present anarchist, as far as he is anything." Muggeridge Diary, 19 March 1948, Box 2. Muggeridge Papers, Hoover Institution. Steed started with the *Daily Express*, reporting from Germany. He was an intelligence officer during the war and a foreign correspondent and editor for the Daily Telegraph for most of the post-war years. *The Encyclopedia of the British Press, 1422-1992,* ed Dennis Griffiths (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), p. 533.

[26] It was especially popular in Italy and Turkey, through it received only a success rating of "fair" for the IRD. Report on the Work of the Information Research Department: 1st August to 31st December, 1949. PR110/5/G. FO1110/359. PRO.

[27] Sheridan Minute, 18 Nov. 1949. PR3648/69/G. FO1110/258. PRO.

[28] Runacres Minute, [n.d.], Sheridan Minute, 22 Nov. 1949. PR3648/69/G. FO1110/258. PRO. Chevins agreed to the job for 50 Guineas. Sheridan Minute, 24 Nov. 1949. PR3648/69/G. FO1110/258. PRO.

> "I cannot say that this is exclusive, but I do not know of anyone else who has been given it. It seems to me that it would make a most interesting "Daily Telegraph" article - partly to illuminate the minds of readers in this country, and partly because, should it appear, it would, no doubt be quoted extensively abroad."[29]

Other writers came on a more ad hoc basis. In 1950 *The Chemical Age's* reporter Peter Davies wanted to do an article on oppression in East Germany for the mass circulation weekly *Everybody's*. Murray's successor, Peter Wilkinson, knew and trusted Davies. Sheridan liked the idea and the IRD gave him a full briefing. Sheridan did not worry about straying from the IRD's mission to stick to overseas propaganda.

> "It is doubtful if we should help writers for the home market,
> but on balance, and bearing in mind, I think we should."*(sic)* [30]

Although much anti-Communist literature in the late 1940s and early 1950s was dominated by well-known authors, such as Crossman, Chevins or Ewer, whose reputations could secure readers, the IRD actually preferred anonymous authors who let the propaganda, not the personality, lead their argument. When Information Officers at British missions overseas in 1950 were clamoring for "big name" authors, Sheridan's deputy, A.A. MacLaren itemized the problems these men and women presented:

> "Generally speaking, the bigger the name, the greater the impediments. Big names are rarely amenable to precise briefing; they are busy and cannot do things when we want them; they are shy of official inspiration – however cunningly concealed; and if they are big writers, they are very difficult to please about copyright, payment and so forth. Nevertheless, big or big-ish names are always being added to the list.
>
> "I think it is essential, however, that we should always be able to have articles written to an exact specification, and this can only be done in the Office, i.e. a certain number of articles sent out will always have to go out over a pseudonym and therefore over anything but a big name."[31]

So, the IRD made up pen names for staff-written articles.[32] A close reading of one IRD report indicates that articles by "Arnold York," "John Cardwell," and "David Laidlaw" were actually written by

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[29] Sheridan to Chevins, 3 July 1950. 1/16, Chevins Papers, British Library of Political and Economic Science. London. Chevin's files indicates that he wrote stories on labor movement and international labor organizations for the COI as well as the IRD, and also that he received tips and background briefings from the Americans..

[30] Sheridan Minute, 21 Sept. 1950, Wilkinson Minute, 23 Sept. 1950, Sheridan Minute, 27 Sept. 1950, and Stacey Minute, 18 Oct. 1950. PR37/56. FO110/311. PRO.

[31] MacLaren Minute, 15 June 1950. PR110/2/G. FO1110/359. PRO.

[32] Earlier some information officers had merely made up authors on the spot, as did the officer in Chile who gave a 10-part IRD series to *El Mercurio* under the name "Ralph L. Hawkins." Santiago (IO) to IPD. PR599/591/913. FO1110/89. PRO

IRD staff. In the last month of 1949 these "journalists" accounted for 17 of the 91 articles produced through the IRD.[33] When a client wanted more information about these authors the IRD was fully willing to make up biographies and send photos of unknown British writers to be passed off as the journalists.[34] For example, soon after IRD material began going to a Japanese news syndicate in 1951, the editors demanded biographies of the writers. The fictitious "David Laidlaw" was described merely as a man who had traveled extensively in Eastern Europe and has written on conditions there and in the Soviet Union.[35] That didn't stop his material from doing well. In the last five months of 1949 eight "David Laidlaw" articles showed up in 81 overseas publications. His article "Red Light on the Dove of Peace" appeared in 15 publications in eight countries, including India, Belgium, Sweden, and Brazil.[36]

Because the IRD was primarily interested in changing the overall political discourse it understood the value of getting IRD propaganda into newspaper clipping libraries. As Sheridan explained:

> "By doing so, (the propagandist) creates a source which is drawn on year after year by writers who feel that what they say and what they quote is their own, and not put into their minds by some alien propagandists."[37]

Top British journalists also liked to have the IRD papers. In 1959, when the IRD was updating its mailing list, *The Times* Iverach McDonald told the IRD he wanted to continue receiving the papers, digests and reports.

> "Many thanks for asking whether we wished to continue receiving the papers which you have so kindly sent us in recent years. The answer is that we find them most valuable. You may have noticed that we seldom draw upon for immediate news but invariably they are of use when we are writing leaders and we regard them as a necessary part of our background material. If therefore, you can continue with them we shall be grateful."[38]

The IRD's desire to create a permanent anti-Communist record and a deeper impact led the department to enter the book publishing business through an arrangement with Batchworth Press. The IRD would suggest themes and authors to the company for the Background Books series, then pledge a bulk purchase to eliminate any risk to the publisher.[39] (Background Books still turn up at used book stores.)

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[33] Annex A: Report on the Work of the Information Research Department: 1st August to 31st December, 1949. PR110/5/G. FO1110/359. PRO.

[34] Notes on May 11 Meeting. PR1376/20/G. FO1110/208. PRO.

[35] Redman (UK Liaison Mission) to IRD, 20 Feb. 1951, Murray to Redman, 15 March 1951. PR110/1/51/G. FO1110/451. PRO.

[36] Annex A: Report on the Work of the Information Research Department: 1st August to 31st December, 1949. PR110/5/G. FO1110/359. PRO.

[37] Sheridan Minute, 31 Jan. 1950. PR19/8/G, FO1110/293. PRO.

[38] McDonald to Reddaway, 21 Dec, 1959. Correspondence R. Unsorted Box. McDonald Papers, *The Times* Archives.

Exploiting Proprietary Information

In addition to the IRD's work packaging facts and laundering articles, the agency regularly managed to create or influence media events through its links with the diplomatic and intelligence services.

In 1948 British intelligence had hit the jackpot when Lt. Col. G.A. Tokaev walked into the British zone of Berlin and defected. Not only did Tokaev have top-level technical information (he was in charge of exploiting German rocket and aviation resources for the USSR), but he also was privy to a great deal of inside information on the workings of the Soviet state and Communist Party. After extensive debriefing by British intelligence Tokaev began his career as a British propaganda asset in July 1948.

The IRD had arranged for literary agent Cyrus Brooks to represent Tokaev and help him sell informative anti-Communist books and articles. The defector, however, was not willing to go along with the sedate pace that the IRD had chosen for him. As one official wrote that summer.

> "Colonel Tokaev is now rather restive and there is some danger that if he is not soon guided into a position where he may appear publicly and publish his book, he may burst into publicity by some ill-judged action. He is not under any restraint here, and there is nothing to prevent him from approaching the Press on his own at any time."[40]

There were also worries that the Soviets could pre-empt Tokaev's announcement and put their own spin on his defection. One top diplomat feared that he might be "bumped off by Communist agents."[41] Brooks approached left-wing publisher Victor Gollancz and *Daily Herald* editor Percy Cudlipp with Tokaev's story. Murray had insisted to Brooks that Tokaev make his debut "as far to the left as possible," as part of the strategy to woo the left away from Stalinism. Both Gollancz and Cudlipp were interested, but Cudlipp wanted reassurance from the government before he would publish Tokaev's book in serial form.[42]

But the wait was too long for Tokaev. In late August he sent long letters to the *New York Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Herald* and a Russian émigré newspaper in France. That led to questions about Tokaev's authenticity and credibility. To maintain the initiative Brooks arranged for a snap press conference.[43] An IRD *Digest* article on Tokaev was also rushed into print.[44] IRD officials lamented the bad timing. As Murray wrote:

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[39] John Jenks, "Hot News/Cold War: The British State, Propaganda, and the News Media, 1948-53." Ph.D. diss., University of California, 2000.

[40] Memo, 28 June 1948. PR523/523/913G. FO1110/80. PRO.

[41] Sargent Minute, 1 July 1948, R523/523/913G. FO1110/80. PRO.

> "Unfortunately, Tokaev's precipitate action may cause his existence to go almost unnoticed because he will have to compete for space with the Moscow developments, French Government changes, Benes and Zhdanov obituaries. He could scarcely have chosen a worse moment, in fact."[45]

The press conference itself was a disaster. Nearly 100 journalists attended, including a number of Soviet journalists who verbally abused Tokaev and passionately accused him of betraying his country – all in Russian. Tokaev refused to answer their questions and the conference ended in what *The Times* politely called "confusion." The newspapers were able to quote from a six-page statement he released at the conference, in which he explained his defection and criticized the Soviet leadership for leading a traumatized country toward war. Other themes, such as the extent of forced labor, fit nicely into the IRD's current themes. *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* covered the event, but with brief stories.[46]

An IRD post-mortem concluded that neither Tokaev nor Brooks were in the least bit prepared for the conference, which made a "farcical and harmful" impression. The poorly edited translation of Tokaev's statement made him look foolish, while Brooks had completely misjudged Tokaev's ability to function in a press conference. He could not function at all. This all tended to detract from Tokaev's extremely serious and valuable material.[47]

Despite Tokaev's inauspicious debut Brooks told the Foreign Office he felt that further news conferences might be valuable. Brooks had already sold the rights to Tokaev's story in Sweden and France and wanted to drum up more interest.[48] Meanwhile, progress on Tokaev's book proceeded, but slowly. The original 412-page manuscript was a mess, although Brooks and his agency had been led to believe that it was already a coherent book with strong propaganda value. Tokaev's original manuscript was so

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[42] Murray Minute, 8 July 1948. PR584/523/913G; F.A. Warner Minute, 15 July 1948; R.C. McAlpine Memo, 17 July 1948 PR584/523/913G; F.A. Warner Minute, 17 July 1948. PR584/523/913G. FO1110/80. PRO;

[43] Murray Minute, 1 Sept. 1948. PR717/523/913/G. FO1110/80. PRO.

[44] Wesley K. Wark," Coming in From the Cold: British Propaganda and Red Army Defectors, 1945-1952," *The International History Review* 9 (1987), pp. 60-61.

[45] Murray Minute, 1 Sept. 1948. PR717/523/913/G. FO1110/80. PRO.

[46] "Colonel's Flight from Russia," *Manchester Guardian*, 7 Sept. 1948; "Refugee Russian Colonel," *The Times*, 7 Sept. 1948.

[47] "Some Observations on the Now Completed "Testament of a Russian Patriot" and the Projected Second Book by the Same Author," 'Translator,' H.D., 15 Nov. 1948, PR1116/265/913G, FO1110/55. PRO.

disorganized and poorly written that the "translator" had to re-write the entire book and add a great deal of new material. The translator then read the re-written sections back to Tokaev in "a rough Russian translation" for his approval. But in order to make the book not appear to be too polished or give the impression of "'manufactured' propaganda" a few sentences were left with "a slightly Russian flavor" and quotes from Lenin and Churchill were taken translated from public Russian sources, rather than the existing English versions.

By the end of 1948 enough was ready for the Foreign Office to plant some excerpts in the *Sunday Express*, a mass-market Conservative newspaper.[49] (*Sunday Express* Editor John Gordon later wrote to Beaverbrook about Tokaev, saying: "The Foreign Office thinks very highly of him and still has him under its wing (in mid-1950). Its staff translated and prepared much of the material for us.") The *Sunday Express* was hardly Murray's ideal of "far left" but the *Express* did have several million regular readers and an overseas syndication service. The *Express* began the series on Jan. 2, 1949 with the full sensationalistic treatment – screaming headlines, promises of secrets, and alarming predictions of war. The first story was, as the Foreign office had wished six months earlier, about Stalin's personality and the Politburo.[50] Not everyone in the Foreign Office was enthusiastic. Some dismissed the *Daily Express* treatment as "melodramatic" and "highly coloured" but still thought the articles could be useful as propaganda.[51]

The BBC later broadcast Tokaev's story in a seven-part series. Those stories were later sent out through the regular IRD channels and got good reactions, especially in places like Turkey.[52] The story continued to churn when Tokaev filed a lawsuit against the Communist newspaper the *Daily Worker* for its reaction to the *Daily Express* story. On Jan. 5, 1949 the newspaper had run a short item – under the headline "Would You Believe It?" – claiming that Tokaev was an impostor. Tokaev won in court and the *Daily Worker* agreed to withdraw its allegations and publicly apologize to him.[53]

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[48] Talbot to Murray, 15 Sept. 1948. PR796/796, FO1110/115. PRO

[49] See Gordon to Beaverbrook, 11 July 1950. H/138. Beaverbrook Papers. House of Lords Record Office, London. Gordon was worried because prominent fellow-traveler D.N. Pritt had written him claiming that people Tokaev had implied had been killed were actually alive.

[50] "What Stalin Intends to Do: By a Man Who Sat With Him at the War-Planning Table in the Kremlin," G.A. Tokaev, *Sunday Express*, 2 Jan. 1949. It continued in the same vein throughout the month.

[51] See N135/1024/38, N241/1024/38. FO371/77609. PRO.

[52] Wark, "Coming in from the Cold," p. 61; Appendix A: Progress Report: Information Research Department, PR28791/112/G. FO1110/277. PRO.

[53] "High Court of Justice," *The Times*, 28 July 1950.

British intelligence and the IRD hoped to encourage other defectors and use them to create media events. Although years past before anyone of Tokaev's stature defected, the British did have a series of low-level defectors whose stories were used to shape coverage about Soviet life in the British and European media. The defectors usually would give tightly controlled interviews to the BBC's overseas services, particularly the Russian-language service, and to the IRD's tame reporters.

In one case, a defector named Denisov was persuaded to cooperate with the ghostwriting of an article for the German *Blick* magazine in March 1950.[54] That piqued the interest of a number of less pliable journalists who wanted part of the story. The *Daily Herald's* Denis Martin and the *Picture Post* were both adamant that they wanted interviews with defectors, but both the intelligence services and the IRD worried about them compromising security and emphasizing the wrong "line" in their stories.[55] They set up a system in which unreliable reporters would be told to find the defectors in a refugee camp, while those who were reliable, or persistent, could apply for an interview if they agreed to let the IRD review their articles before publication.[56] No journalists could get an interview without IRD sponsorship.[57]

Working the Connections

News agencies presented the ideal solution for the IRD. As veteran propaganda expert Norman Reddaway remembered, the key thing for a propagandist was to get into "the plumbing" of the world news system.[58] The best entry into the system was through the major international wire services, but direct contact was often problematic. Instead the IRD concentrated on the lower profile news agencies and syndication services that managed to generate thousands of news items and stories without the complications frequently associated with the international agencies.

In a few cases the British government directly subsidized the agencies, reportedly through MI6. All of MI6's postwar records and all IRD records relating to the subsidized news agencies have been withheld from the Public Record Office. The Cairo-based Arab News Agency was the most prominent, and had spun off other news agencies in Turkey, Pakistan and India.[59]

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[54] MacLaren Minute, 11 Feb. 1950, Sheridan Minute, 20 Feb. 1950. PR12/37/G. FO1110/287. PRO.
[55] Macdonald (Intelligence Division) to Wilkinson, 21 Feb. 1951, Wilkinson to Macdonald, 14 March 1951, MacLaren Minute, 4 April 1951. PR12/26/51/G. FO1110/377. PRO.
[56] Wilkinson to Macdonald, 14 March 1951. PR12/26/51/G. FO1110/377. PRO.
[57] Macdonald to Wilkinson, 5 April 1951 (with attachments). PR12/46/51/G. FO1110/377. PRO. Much of this also concerned interviews for German publications and radio stations.
[58] Norman Reddaway, interview by author, tape recording, London, 31 Oct. 1996.

In 1950 the IRD was looking for a British-based syndication service to get better distribution for its news and feature propaganda. After considering the *Daily Express* syndication service, the IRD settled down to hard negotiations with the Kemsley News Service.[60] But not all of Kemsley's associates had the reputation that the IRD desired. For example, Kemsley's supplied material to Bull's Press Agency in Scandinavia. Most of Bull's clients were right wing Scandinavian newspapers and Bull's agency had an "unsavoury" reputation from the war, when the Nazis had used it for their propaganda.[61]

Other local arrangements with lesser-known news agencies were also common. In 1948 the IRD cut a deal with a French cooperative news agency, which served some 350 small-circulation provincial newspapers, in which the agency would distribute IRD material as an adjunct to its regular service.[62] This agency was largely a one-man show, run by Georges Riond, and regularly reached some 3.5 million readers.

> "Monsieur Riond has take a great deal of our material hitherto, and it has been given a good showing in the provincial press. His method is effective because he deals with small papers with an average circulation of about 10,000, which have no editorial staff to speak of and which are therefore glad to lift ready-made stuff out of his news sheets. He has done particularly well over small items of New Look (anti-Communist) material, and as an ardent anti-Communist he is keen to extend the campaign."[63]

By late 1949 the IRD apparently was tiring of Riond and was making new arrangements for processing their articles in France. The IRD began on a trial basis passing many of its features and second rights articles through Paris-based British journalist Dennis Bloodworth, who was also working for the *Observer* newspaper and, apparently, MI6 -- all at the same time.[64] Bloodworth proposed to work through one or two small agencies and take only four to six articles a month initially.[65]

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[59] Lashmar and Oliver, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War.*

[60] Murray to Marchant (Paris), 31 March 1950. PR16/113/G. FO1110/290. PRO. In the late 1960s the IRD acquired the rights to distribute the *Observer's* foreign service material. See, Richard Fletcher "How the FO Waged Secret Propaganda War in Britain," *Observer,* 29 Jan. 1978.

[61] Bennett (Stockholm Information Officer) to Murray, 1 June 1950. PR106/8/G; Murray (Copenhagen) to Murray, 7 June 1950. PR106/12/G. FO1110/355. PRO.

[62] Cloake Memorandum, 9 Nov. 1948. PR999. FO1110/148. PRO.

[63] Tennant to Woolrych, 21 Oct. 1948. PR999. FO1110/148. PRO.

[64] For Bloodworth's MI6 connections see Muggeridge Diary, 16, 27, 26 Oct. 1948; 21 Nov. 1948, Box 1, Muggeridge Papers, Hoover Institution. According to Muggeridge Bloodworth was set to get an MI6 job in Paris and was being vetted by one of Muggeridge's MI6 connections. Muggeridge also spoke to *Observer* Editor David Astor about Bloodworth. Bloodworth later made his name as the *Observer's* correspondent in

The IRD later tried to set up a similar operation in Japan. For a three-month trial run in early 1951 World Information Service took a 20,000-word mix of IRD anti-Communist material and less polemical COI and second-rights articles every month. They were first offered to the Tokyo dailies, then to the provincial dailies. The trial period went well and apparently continued.[66] In Germany the IRD used the more-or-less transparent agency British Features to sell its material to the German press, primarily within the British sector. In mid-1950 it had sold the story of the Soviet defector Borisow to the sensationalist weekly magazine *Der Stern*, which sold some 400,000 copies a week in western Germany.[67]

As time went on the IRD discovered other, informal connections and networks – and created others – that had many of the same benefits of news agencies. The Regional Information Offices in Singapore and Cairo supplied stories and cartoons to regionally distributed Egyptian and Malayan newspapers; the stories were sometimes reproduced by smaller papers elsewhere in the region. The most dynamic regional office, however, was Emile Lecours' Caracas, Venezuela, office. Lecours had contacts throughout Latin America and planted an enormous number of stories under psuedonyms, but his superiors fretted that "like most guerrilla warriors Mr. Lecours tends to get out of touch with H.Q."[68] Nevertheless, they praised his productivity.

> "I have the impression that the average Latin American can hardly open a newspaper without being confronted by an article by Raul Pichardo, Martin Martin or some other alter ego of Lecours."[69]

Lecours also had a sideline of what was known as "type B" operations, which were apparently personal attacks on Latin American politicians. In 1952 he did at least 88 of them, but frequently they were inaccurate, often they were resented as interference by sensitive local readers, and sometimes they came into conflict with other British aims.[70] In 1952 Lecours was proposing to go into business as a news agency, which his superiors discouraged because he would be even further out of their control.[71]

Southeast Asia. See Dennis Bloodworth, *The Reporter's Notebook* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1988), pp. *xx*.

[65] Sheridan Note, 15 Nov. 1949. PR3395/39/G. FO1110/229. PRO.

[66] Redman (UK Liaison Mission) to IRD, 20 Feb. 1951, Murray to Redman, 15 March 1951. PR110/1/51/G. FO1110/451. PRO.

[67] List of IRD Articles sold by British Features, PR37/16. FO1110/311. PRO.

[68] Minute, 9 Aug. 1951 FO1110/400. PRO.

[69] Nicholls to Taylor, PR15/101/G. FO1110/472. PRO.

[70] Wilkinson to Tull, 11 Dec. 1952; Nicholls to Taylor, PR15/101/G. FO1110/472. PRO.

[71] Wilkinson to Tull, 11 Dec. 1952, Peck to Wilkinson, 12 Feb. 1953. PR15/101/G. FO1110/472. PRO

The success of IRD propaganda in Turkey led to Ankara becoming a staging point for penetration of the Middle East and Southeastern Europe. In one month Turkish newspapers ran 16 IRD articles and seven "second-rights" articles for a total of 57 appearances, mainly in Istanbul and Ankara newspapers. A popular feature was a feature on Communist political trials by left wing journalist Kingsley Martin. [72] Early on the IRD began sending the Turkish newspapers and clippings out to British posts in Syria, Iraq and Iran to be planted in publications there, sometimes translated from the English original, sometimes from the Turkish.[73] Radio Ankara used IRD propaganda in its broadcasts to Eastern Europe in Hungarian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croat, and Polish.[74]

There was also persistent discussion on using India as a conduit for propaganda to East Africa and to Indonesia, where the simmering revolution against the Dutch complicated direct British propaganda. This apparently would involve a close relationship with the covertly subsidized Globe News Agency and its sister agency, the Arab News Agency.[75]

The situation in Berlin and Vienna, where the British, Americans, French and Soviets each occupied zones in the cities, created opportunities for the IRD to gather information and to spread propaganda. As the Eastern Bloc shut itself off from most Western contact in 1949-50, both Berlin and Vienna became important as "listening posts" for developments in Eastern Europe. The IRD exploited this.

By May 1951 the British in Vienna were already planting information from their Eastern Bloc missions with Vienna-based British journalists, and the IRD was planning to pick up the published information for its *Digests* and second rights system. The IRD even proposed a special review on Eastern European conditions, prepared in London, for distribution in Vienna. The new system, they hoped, could snare French and Italian correspondents in Vienna, because placing IRD propaganda directly in French and

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[72] Report from Turkey, 1 Feb. 1950. PR6/1. FO1110/284. PRO. The success in Turkey probably stemmed from the widespread and virulent anti-Communism encouraged by the Kemalist government. The Turks actually snapped up second-rights on anti-Communist American and British articles before the IRD could. W.E.D. Allen to IRD, 12 Aug. 1949. PR2432/6/G. FO1110/180. PRO.

[73] Watson to Allen, 22 Dec. 1948. PR1185/59/G. FO1110/89. PRO.

[74] W.E.D. Allen to IRD, 9 Dec. 1948, Murray to Allen, 20 Jan. 1949. PR1268/590/913. FO1110/88. PRO. Radio Ankara joined the BBC Eastern European services as recipient of special ASIDE telegrams from British missions in Eastern Europe.

[75] In 1949 Cloake discussed this obliquely, arguing that, "I don't see that it matters very much how genuine the anti-Communist material is, so long as it emanates in practice from an Indian or Pakistan source (e.g. Our M.E. arrangements)." Cloake Minute [April 1949], PR138/42/G. FO1110/232. PRO. Tull Minute, 2 Nov. 1951, Tull to Rayner, 2 Jan. 1952. PR36/28G. FO1110/395. PRO.

Italian newspapers was becoming difficult.[76] Ironically, at the same time the "Monitor" columnist in the conservative newspaper trade journal, the *World's Press News,* was warning that the Communists could be using Vienna as a center for disinformation.[77] A British diplomat in Vienna at the time, Hilary King, was not impressed with the IRD's operations, noting that "they were not choosy, and were quite happy to use unverified press clippings."[78]

In Berlin the IRD set up a "special team" that operated on the borderline between propaganda and disinformation. This team would start with bare facts, embellish them with fabricated but plausible details and slip them to contacts in the German press – generally the Berlin socialist newspaper *Telegraf*, located in the British sector. In September 1950, for example, the team took the basic fact that East German leader Walter Ulbricht returned early from a trip to the Balkans, then added the rumor that he was accompanied by top Volkspolizei (People's Police) ficials. On that base they concocted a story that Ulbricht and the officials were supposed to go to a top-level defense conference, but the gathering was called off because the poor performance of Russian tanks in Korea necessitated the complete rethinking of Soviet strategy in Europe. Other stories were more mundane, yet effective. When a film about the Nazi era was banned without explanation in East Germany, the special team claimed the reason was the obvious similarities between the movie Gestapo and the real-life East German Volkspolizei.[79] It's not clear how many, if any, of these stories circulated outside of Germany.

Conclusion

Despite these kinds of cloak and dagger trappings that sometimes accompanied IRD operations, the heart of the department's success was in its access to raw information, its contacts among writers and journalists, and its knowledge of packaging and distribution.

The British state had access to rare information – from defectors, diplomats and radio intercepts, for example – that could be newsworthy regardless of its "propaganda value." Tokaev was clearly one such asset. Also, the British could muster the resources to collect and package relatively hard-to-find public information to hammer home specific points, such as the bestiality of the Soviet forced labor system or the untrustworthiness of Communists.

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[76] Wilkinson to Andrew Stark (Vienna), 25 May 1951. PR54/15/51/G, FO1110/412. PRO. Berlin also was considered a "window" on the East.

[77] "Is Vienna Being Used as Plant for False News? *World's Press News*, 2 March 1951.

[78] Quoted in Lashmar, *Britain's Secret Propaganda War*, p. 143.

[79] Working Report of Special Team from 15 September to 15 October 1950, PR37/78/G. FO1110/311. PRO.

Throughout its operations the goal remained consistent – the denigration of the Soviet Union and Communism – but the methods often changed because of local variables. Almost all IRD information was laundered before showing up in the news media, but the intensity of the laundering depended on local circumstances, such as British power in the region, the intensity of political feeling, the field propagandists' competence, and local journalists professionalism.

The IRD planted comparatively little information with the major Anglo-American news agencies – Reuters, AP, UP and INS. They were staffed, for the most part, by journalists with a strong sense of professionalism and an aversion to blatant propaganda and government handouts. Also, they had strong professional and financial reasons to avoid the propaganda taint. Reuters' clients included Cold War neutrals, most of the East Bloc agencies, as well as the Voice of America and the Wall Street Journal – it couldn't afford to be seen as a tool of the Foreign Office. Top-level newspapers sometimes got tips and nuggets of information, but seldom ran IRD material verbatim.

Mid-level news agencies and provincial newspapers were the IRD's specialty – they were often financially strapped, usually politically committed and generally out of the spotlight. In addition, the journalists working for these organizations apparently had less of a sense of professional autonomy and independence. Agencies such as Riond in France and World Information Services in Japan could supply laundered anti-Communist boilerplate to provincial newspapers with little fear of exposure. In places like Italy, where journalistic standards were comparatively lax in the early postwar years, short-staffed and low-budget newspapers eagerly took British-produced propaganda.

Other circumstances led to more direct involvement. Britain occupied a swath of Germany and had broad power to "re-educate" the Germans. This made it relatively easy to pursue both extensive and intensive news media contacts, such as those with the Berlin *Telegraf*. Cold War pressures there made it essential. In Latin America a dynamic local organization coupled with friendly newspaper editors led to the appearance of a great deal of propaganda with only minimal re-editing.

Within Britain itself the process was subtler. The IRD worried, initially, about becoming caught up in domestic and parliamentary controversies and thus worked with a much lighter touch. There were a few tame journalists, such as Ewer and Chevins, who were willing to take a great deal of IRD material whole. But most used the IRD as just one stop on their beat for tips and bits of information, especially on what was happening in the Communist world. Even more IRD material took a circuitous route, with planted information in private newsletters, policy journals and background digests intended to influence editors and editorial writers.

British journalists tolerated the IRD for several reasons: The information was often legitimate and valuable, journalists had a habit of relying on official sources and, moreover, most of them identified with the West and distrusted the Soviet Union and its allies. This Cold War consensus allowed the IRD to operate with no publicity in the British press for 30 years, though the Soviets certainly knew about it from the beginning because of their spies in the Foreign Office. The first British notice came out in 1978, just as the department was shutting down.[80]

Finally, the IRD's operatives had a good sense of how news flowed. Because Britain had been a media hub for a century many foreigners were not surprised by British bylines in their newspapers. A Berlin or Vienna dateline could give added credence to "Iron Curtain" news, while certain media – such as Egyptian newspapers and Turkish radio – could have influence far beyond their original audiences.

The IRD itself had a long run. It expanded in the 1950s as the British fought colonial nationalism and the Cold War – and frequently conflated the two – and took on a substantial book publishing operation in addition to its regular media work. In the 1960s and 1970s the IRD became more involved in attacking left-wing forces within Britain, and in 1978 it was finally shut down.

For Cold War historians this shows the importance of propaganda and news in the ideological struggle for the "hearts and minds" of newspaper readers and radio listeners. For journalism historians this demonstrates the ideological commitment, and lax standards, in the 1940s and 1950s that allowed unacknowledged propaganda into the news system. It also should be a cautionary tale that illustrates a little bit of the maneuvering that took place in newsrooms around the world. Sometimes what appears to have been enterprising reporting or a sharp editorial turn may just have been the result of quiet collusion between a propaganda agency and a journalist.

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[80] "Death of the Department that Never Was," David Leigh, *The Guardian,* 27 Jan. 1978; Richard Fletcher, et. al., "How the FO Waged Secret Propaganda War in Britain," *The Observer*, 29 Jan. 1978,